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ABSTRACT

After reviewing the literature on school desegregation and the background of the comprehensive metropolitan school desegregation plan implemented in Louisville and Jefferson County in 1975, this report analyzes school enrollment and residential changes in the years after the plan was implemented. Data are presented for public and non-public school enrollment for both black and white students, and changes in enrollment are reported by type of school, geographical location, and former status and exempt status of the school. Residential changes for both black and white families are reported by those who moved out of the county, those who moved within the county, and those who transferred their children to non-public schools. Results of surveys of parents concerning desegregation, busing, and quality of education are correlated with the age and socioeconomic status of the parents. The data collected are discussed and analyzed, and recommendations are made for future desegregation planning. Appendices provide demographic data, a chronology of desegregation events in the county, maps and charts of the area, procedures for calculating expected enrollment, interview schedules and results, parent surveys, and statements on school integration, racial justice, and reconciliation by a Catholic Archbishop. (WP)

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THE IMPACT OF COURT-ORDERED DESEGREGATION ON STUDENT ENROLLMENT AND RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN THE JEFFERSON COUNTY KENTUCKY PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT

FINAL REPORT

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

National attention was focused on Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky, when the implementation of a desegregation plan in the fall of 1975, was greeted by strong community resistance and sometimes violent protest. This resistance was a part of a growing wave of anti-busing sentiment which had begun to develop in the early 1970's after the Supreme Court's decisions in Green v. County Board of Education (1968) and Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971) had cleared the way for more comprehensive remedies to school segregation in northern cities. The Nixon and Ford administrations had restricted the role of the executive branch in desegregation efforts and supported legislation to limit the use of busing (Orfield, 1978).

This politically conservative shift was matched by an apparent change in the Supreme Court's stance. In Milliken v. Bradley (1974) the Supreme Court overruled both the Federal District Court and Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals which had ordered a metropolitan desegregation plan for Detroit and surrounding suburban districts. The Court ruled that before such a plan could be ordered, it was first necessary to establish that all districts involved had either committed acts that enhanced segregation or failed to operate a unitary school district. In Washington v. Davis (1976) it was ruled that disparate impact (de facto segregation) was not sufficient grounds for finding that constitutional rights had been abridged; intent first had to be established. The impact of these two decisions has been to impede the implementation of cross-district desegregation plans. According to Martha M. McCarthy (1978), this may have marked the emergence of an entirely new definition of discrimination and a movement away from Supreme Court activism in the school desegregation arena.

Social scientists have historically given strong support to school desegregation. In fact, prior to 1970, lawyers could anticipate considerable difficulty in locating reputable social scientists who would be willing to take a position in opposition to school desegregation. Perhaps as a result of disillusionment from the failure of school desegregation to live up to all expectations, there are now social scientists who question whether school desegregation has a positive effect on any student's performance, Black or white. They also argue that desegregation, particularly when accompanied by busing, leads to an increase in the movement of white families away from school districts involved in such plans. This is part of a more general neo-conservative movement within the society which is highly critical of government intervention for the purpose of solving social ills (Steinfels, 1979).

Coincident with the implementation of desegregation in Jefferson County, the respected sociologist, James S. Coleman (1975a) reported research which purported to show a causal relationship between desegregation and residential white flight. Based on these findings, Coleman (1975b) opposed desegregation plans which utilized busing. Other social scientists (Rossell, 1975, Green and Pettigrew, 1976) initially questioned Coleman's research and policy recommendations. Orfield (1975) observed that differences between communities made it extremely difficult to generalize about the effects of desegregation plans and noted the need for case studies, especially of metropolitan-type plans.

The implementation of a metropolitan desegregation plan in Jefferson County provided an excellent opportunity to investigate the effects of a comprehensive desegregation plan involving busing. This is the final report of a study which was begun in June 1976.

Purpose of the Study

Testimony by social scientists concerning the advantages or disadvantages of desegregation has not generally been deemed admissable by the courts as evidence to be used in determining whether or not a violation of the constitutional rights of minority children in a school district has occurred. However, testimony related to the impact of a desegregation plan and to decisions concerning the nature of the remedy to be imposed is admissable. If it can be argued successfully that sweeping desegregation orders are counterproductive and result in increased residential segregation, then the courts might be persuaded not to order such plans. If on the other hand, there is a minimal loss of white families in a school district such as Jefferson County, which is arguably the most comprehensive metropolitan desegregation plan in the United States, then the case for metropolitan desegregation plans is strengthened, and the belief that the loss of white families is the inevitable result of school desegregation is substantially undermined.

The purpose of this study was to provide information concerning the impact of court-ordered desegregation on student enrollment and residential patterns in Jefferson County. Four questions guided the conduct of the investigation.

Question 1: Has there been a decline in white public school enrollment that can be associated with the implementation of the desegregation plan?

a. Are white students enrolling in non-public schools within Jefferson County to avoid participation in the desegregation plan?

b. Are white families moving their residences outside of Jefferson County to avoid participation in the desegregation plan?

The major emphasis of the study was on two groups of white students: 1) those who left Jefferson County and enrolled in outlying school districts, and 2) those who transferred from public to non-public schools. Parents were interviewed to

determine to what degree court-ordered desegregation was influential in the decision to either move outside of Jefferson County or enroll their children in non-public schools.

Question 2: Did parents of public school children make residential changes within the county to avoid the busing of their children?

Under the desegregation plan which went into effect in the fall of 1975, a student who lived in a school attendance district in which he or she was in the minority, would not be bused away from that school. Thus, the plan provided an incentive for families, Black and white, to make residential changes which would result in housing desegregation. Since Blacks were bused more than three-quarters of their twelve school years, parents of these students might be motivated to seek new housing in areas where this inconvenience could be avoided. In addition, the desegregation of schools might provide an impetus to previously hesitant Black families to be the first to move into a white school attendance area where their children would be the only Black students in the school. For both Blacks and whites, there were schools which were exempt from the busing requirements of the desegregation plan since those schools had a desegregated student population. Parents could have moved into those areas to avoid the busing of their children. Residential movement of this kind could result in an increase in desegregated housing patterns.

Question 3: What are the features of court-ordered desegregation that influence enrollment changes in the schools?

Resistance to a desegregation order does not take place uniformly across a school district. There are some types of situations which parents are more likely to resist than others. For instance, white parents can usually be expected to look more favorably upon allowing their child to attend their local

school to which Black students are being bused then to allow their child to be bused to a formerly Black school in a Black neighborhood. A disparate impact on elementary school students as compared to high school students might also be anticipated. Most of these hypotheses have never explicitly been tested. A purpose of the present study was to submit these hypotheses to disconfirmation in this single case study setting.

Question 4: What are the characteristics of the following three groups of parents:

a. those who transfer their children to non-public schools?

b. those who move out of the county?

c. those who move within the county?

It can also be anticipated that the parents who resist a desegregation plan by withdrawing their children differ from other parents. Parents who respond by moving out of the county may differ from those who transfer their children to non-public schools. An understanding of the attitudes and personological characteristics of those who avoid participation in the desegregation plan is necessary before the total impact of the desegregation plan on parents can be comprehended.

Review of the Literature

Among the original arguments for desegregation was the position, supported by the early research of Coleman (1966), that Black students were being denied equal educational opportunity and that integrated schooling would result in more satisfactory levels of achievement among Black children. The results of that study were used in legitimizing the need for court-ordered desegregation. Coleman (1975b) altered his position stating that:

> . . . benefits do exist; but they are not so substantial that in themselves they demand school desegregation, whatever the other consequences. And particularly when desegregation occurs through bringing together for the school day students from several different neighborhoods, it is questionable whether the same achievement benefits arise. (p. 77)

Of particular concern to Coleman was the question of whether the process of desegregating schools through court-ordered busing plans was counterproductive because it resulted in white parents leaving a school district, greater residential segregation and eventual resegregation of schools.

The most accurate means of assessing residential changes is through direct measures such as those provided by the U.S. Census. Since these data were not available, Coleman was forced to rely on his existing data sources, which were available to him as a result of the updating of the data base used in his massive study of educational opportunity ordered by Congress in section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Coleman, 1966). In the research model selected by Coleman, white flight was inferred from enrollment declines. One crucial assumption necessary for the justification of this research model is the equation of enrollment declines with white flight.

Enrollment declines can result from out-migration associated with desegregation; however, other important factors, transfers to non-public schools, birthrate decline, and established patterns of out-migration can also effect enrollment. Coleman's data base did not contain information on non-public school enrollment. He (1975b) believed that transfers to non-public schools explained only a small proportion of the loss of white students and that most of the loss resulted from residential movement. Thus, in his operational definitions of white flight, no distinction was made between transfers to non-public schools and residential changes. In addition, the effects of birthrate declines and established patterns of out-migration were not analyzed.

Coleman's documentation of the existence of white flight was based on the examination of 67 cities which he divided in two groups, the 21 largest and the 46 next in size. He (1975b) summarized his finding by stating:

> The loss of whites did increase when there was a reduction of segregation. The effect was substantial for the group of large cities, but much smaller for the smaller cities. This is an average effect, and the effect for different cities differs considerably from the average. (For example, according to our estimates for some of those cities which had substantial decrease in segregation over this period, it was largest in Atlanta and Memphis, less large in San Francisco and Indianapolis, and absent in Tampa.) The effect was intensified when the desegregating city had a high proportion of blacks and when there was a high disparity in racial composition between suburbs and city (i.e., a high segregation between districts). As indicated above, the effect was much smaller for the smaller cities. . . . Insofar as we could determine (though the evidence is not extensive enough to allow strong statements on this question), the accelerated loss of whites appears to be a one-time effect, occurring in the year of desegregation but without a continuing accelerated loss in subsequent years. (pp. 76-77)

Coleman (1975b) recommended that local communities should be left to address the problems of school segregation. He suggested that individual students should be given or allowed to retain the right to attend their neighborhood school or another school if the school chosen had no higher proportion of the same race than did the neighborhood school. Coleman stated that the courts should continue to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment rights of Black children.

There was a strong and often negative reaction to the research findings and policy recommendations of Coleman. Criticism emphasized the nature of the results, certain aspects of methodology, particularly the cities included, and his policy recommendations. His research model and the assumptions upon which it was predicated were not challenged. There were a number of replication studies involving reanalysis of the same basic data base with minor methodological modifications.

There were initial successes in challenging Coleman's results. Using a slightly different method to select cities for inclusion in the analysis, focusing on non-Black students rather than white students and examining only elementary schools, Farley (1975) found no significant relationship between white flight and school desegregation in a sample of the nation's largest cities. Farley's research covered a span of five years whereas Coleman's study covered only one. However, the most important difference between the two studies was in terms of level of statistical sophistication. Because of its complexity, Coleman's study was much more likely to produce significant results.

Rossell (1976) employed techniques similar to those of Coleman and Farley to study white flight. Like Coleman's other critics, she was intent on proving him wrong. She accepted his model and assumptions and focused on the school districts included. It was her feeling that the weakness in Coleman's approach stemmed from the fact that he did not study and compare schools actually involved in school desegregation. Her study included 86 cities which were categorized as having either high, medium, or low levels of desegregation. Using the number of white students as a dependent variable, she found no differences between pre-desegregation and post-desegregation years or any significant relationship between school desegregation and white flight. Rossell believed that the differences between her results and Coleman's could be attributed to the fact that the school districts studied by Coleman were not undergoing court-ordered desegregation while she had differentiated between those schools that had undergone court-ordered desegregation and those that had not.

Giles et al. (1974) supported Rossell's conclusions concerning the lack of a relationship between white flight and school desegregation. Although they did find a shift of white students to private schools, they emphasized that the

shift did not occur in a proportion so large as to threaten desegregated schooling. The data they reported led them to conclude that there is no distinct "tipping point" which causes rapid resegregation of the schools.

In another study, Mercer and Scout (1976) found no significant difference between 23 desegregated and 67 segregated school districts in California when direction and rate of change in white residence were analyzed.

Green and Pettigrew (1976) attempted to duplicate Coleman's research but added several cities which they believed should be among the classification of "largest" cities. They were unable to find the positive correlation between desegregation and white flight reported by Coleman and, in fact, reported a negative correlation. In endeavoring to explain the inconsistencies between the findings of Coleman and other researchers, they cited methodological differences ranging from the obvious (choice of schools to be included in the study) to the subtle (type of coding algorithm used). They were highly critical of Coleman's methods and considered it unfortunate that the bulk of the media coverage had focused on him rather than on other researchers whose conclusions appeared to be based on more solid evidence. Coleman was criticized for his unwillingness to make his data widely available, his tendency to react with anger when criticized, and the conclusions that he had drawn from his data. In particular, they were critical of his tendency to make what they considered unwarranted public policy statements on court-ordered busing. Green and Pettigrew (1976) summarized the results of the major studies on white flight as follows:

1. There has been a long-term trend of whites leaving the cities and of blacks migrating into these areas.

2. All the studies agree that desegregation and white flight are not related in the smaller cities.

3. In the metropolitan school districts, desegregation has little or no effect on white flight.

4. Court-ordered desegregation has not had effects on white flight different from desegregation resulting from other factors, such as residential or neighborhood transition.

5. The loss of white and black students from large city districts is related to the proportion of black students attending those districts. In part, the "proportion black" variable is a surrogate for a range of other variables from eroding tax bases to old housing stocks.

6. While extensive school desegregation may hasten the white flight phenomenon, particularly in the largest non-metropolitan districts in the South, the effect, if it obtains at all, may only be observed temporarily during the first year of desegregation, and then only for those families which have already made plans to move. (p. 401)

Green and Pettigrew were pointedly critical of Coleman's public policy positions stating:

> . . . there is only a tenuous connection between Coleman's research results and Coleman's anti-busing political opinions. His own findings, as well as those of other researchers, argue strongly for metropolitan approaches to school desegregation, but he strongly resists this direction in court appearances, Senate testimony, and his speech at an anti-busing conference in Louisville last December. (p. 402)

Initially. using his data base, the critics of Coleman were successful in obtaining results that supported their opposition. However, the more studies that were conducted, the more the results agreed with Coleman. Although there were a variety of conclusions being drawn, the basic findings of Coleman were not imputed.

Farley altered his original position on white flight concluding that in large central cities with more than one-third of the student enrollment Black, there was a substantial loss in white student enrollment accompanying school desegregation (Farley & Wurdoch, 1977). The loss was reported to be twice that which could be expected to occur without desegregation. Rossell (1978c) was also forced to recant her earlier position on white flight. She now agrees with Coleman that white flight is accelerated by school desegregation.

The major attempt to expand the Coleman model to include additional factors was made by Armor (1978). His methodology took into account the declining birth-rate and established trends of out-migration. Jefferson County was one of the school districts included in Armor's study. His findings were similar to those of this study except that his projection of the trend of out-migration was lower. Therefore, he estimated a loss of white students attributable to accelerated out-migration in numbers somewhat higher than the estimates presented in this study. For the same reason, his projections showed the effects to be of longer duration. Except for Jefferson County where he used data obtained from this study, Armor's investigation did not include information on the transfer of students to non-public schools.

Armor's findings emphasized that in larger districts with minority enrollments in excess of 20 percent and having accessible white suburbs, desegregation does cause an increase in out-migration of white families. However, this occurs only when the desegregation effort includes busing and the reassignment of white students. The effects are largest when desegregation is first initiated; however, losses sometimes occur in anticipation of the actual implementation of desegregation. Also, the accelerated out-migration effect may continue for several years. His results and conclusions are in substantial agreement with those of Coleman, Farley, and Rossell.

Declining white enrollment can undeniably be associated with increased desegregation. Attempts to dispute these conclusions through a further reanalysis of the same data will be futile. It is not Coleman's results or the conclusions based on these results that should be questioned but the assumptions that underlie his basic model. Just because white enrollment declines at the same time that desegregation increases does not prove that increased desegregation causes white enrollment to decline. Furthermore, a decline in white enrollment does not mean

that whites are leaving the district. This may reflect the overall decline that has been occurring in birthrate, movement to non-public schools or some other demographic phenomenon unrelated to school desegregation. The majority of research has used the Coleman model mainly because data for more sophisticated analysis is not readily available.

Desegregation has taken place in too few localities to allow rigorous analyses and definite conclusions. Widely divergent results can be obtained depending on the criteria used for the selection of the systems to be included in a particular study. The state of the art of statistical analysis has not reached a point where data characterized by intercorrelations among dependent variables can be analyzed in a manner that does not lead to amibiguity in interpretation. There are many design approaches, each of which can be expected to yield somewhat different results.

Further variations of Coleman's research model, while accepting his assumptions and using his data base, cannot be expected to produce much new and useful information. Orfield (1975) and Levine and Meyer (1977) argued against the macro approach to studying the effects of desegregation which involves lumping together diverse school districts in favor of case studies (p. 454).

Lord and Catau (1976) studied the Charlotte/Mecklenburg County desegregation plan and found that "Court-ordered desegregation and busing did not trigger 'massive' white flight from the Charlotte/Mecklenburg school system (p. 292)." They also found a greater number of students "fleeing" to private schools than to adjacent school districts. Using a questionnaire survey along with aggregate data concerning student population growth, they were able to study, in detail, not only the number of moves out of Mecklenburg County that were taking place in the white population since desegregation, but also the motivation behind those moves. They found that among the major reasons people gave for wanting

to move, busing ranked fourth (70%) preceded by:

1) a desire for a safer place to live (89.8%),

2) more playing room for their children (88.0%) and

3) lower real estate taxes (85.7%) (p. 288).

The authors asserted that the findings agreed with those found in other studies of the reasons for movement from cities to suburbs or rural areas. This study also showed that while the growth in the elementary school population in an adjacent county accelerated during the first two years of desegregation, it returned to the pre-desegregation rate after three years.

Giles (1977) conducted a case study which was designed to assess the Black/white balances in the schools of a desegregating southern metropolitan school district - Duval County, Florida. He reported that "with few exceptions the percentage of blacks in the schools approximated closely the projections of the desegregation plan and did not vary significantly in the first two years of implementation (p. 507)." Giles was able to determine that these exceptions where further increases in Black enrollment took place were in 22 schools "located on the fringe of the black area, suggesting that the racial instability in the school was a function of racial instability in the attendance area and not school desegregation per se (p. 507)." Giles concluded that Black/white balances can be stabilized and maintained in desegregated urban schools as long as the policy makers take into account demographic trends in residential patterns. However, he cautioned against over-generalizing from this one case in a southern district with a brief desegregation experience.

Giles et al. (1974) attempted to determine how busing influenced parent's decision to enroll students in non-public schools. Parents of students enrolled in the public schools and of those enrolled in non-public schools were interviewed. The parents were located in eight Florida counties which had been desegregated.

The findings were summarized as follows:

> The decisions of many Florida parents to comply with public school desegregation or to transfer their children from public to private school, appear related to the conditions of busing affecting their children. Nevertheless, a large percentage of our rejecter sample had not experienced busing last year and were not scheduled to be bused this year. Thus, while busing conditions are related to many parents' rejection decisions, many white children are withdrawn from the public schools for reasons seemingly unrelated to busing. (p. 500)

As can be seen from these few case studies, a look at school systems individually in a case study provides a much different picture of the relationship between school desegregation and white flight than can be obtained from existing macro studies.

Definition of Terms

Though terms are defined within the context of a particular study, they are often misplaced by the time the data are reported and considered by policy makers and the general public. The words "desegregation" and "integration" are examples of this problem. While some researchers endeavor to make clear distinctions between the two, others do not. Desegregation may be defined as "the achieving of some statistical mix of children of different races (St. John, 1975)." The term integration, however, should be reserved for that situation in which the minority group is accepted on a completely equal basis (Green and Pettigrew, 1976), or as Harris et al. (1975) suggests, integration reflects the involvement of many people from racial and ethnic groups where, from a shared base of parity, the entire school and community benefit. This definitional problem as Wegmann (1977) suggests, "seems . . to be at the heart of the whole issue: To what extent is the racially mixed school truly integrated? Are the students merely physically co-present, or are they relating to one another in an environment of mutual understanding and respect (p. 392)?"

"Busing" is another term characterized by a lack of definitional clarity. The predilection of studies to equate "desegregation" and "busing" contributes to confusion. Busing has been an integral part of our educational system for many years. Prior to the court order to desegregate, 65 percent of Jefferson County's students were being bused from home to school and back again (U.S. District Court of Appeals, Louisville-Jefferson County desegregation case, Dec. 28, 1973). It is the intent of this study to maintain a distinction between "busing" and court-ordered desegregation. "Busing" is one means by which court-ordered desegregation is implemented; it is not synonymous with the term "desegregation."

Another area in which definition is necessary is the label "metropolitan desegregation plan." The term refers to a plan which is implemented throughout a metropolitan area. It may cross district lines and it may or may not include busing. In Jefferson County, two school districts were merged. It seems plausible to categorize the Louisville-Jefferson County plan as "metropolitan."

To the public at large, the terms "white flight" conjures the image of white families moving out of a community. The bulk of research on this topic has faced a major limitation. There is no straightforward method for measuring this movement particularly in studies involving a large number of school systems. The result is a concession to expediency. Virtually all white flight studies operationally define white flight as a decline in white enrollment. This is done despite the fact that there are many causes for a decline in white enrollment other than school desegregation. Transfers to non-public schools, birthrate decline, and the continuing trend of the middle class to move to the suburbs are all reflected in declining enrollment. Movement to non-public schools is generally included as white flight despite the fact that this is an arbitrary and illogical use of operational definitions. First of all, it is misleading

because to the public white flight means families fleeing. And secondly, they have disparate effects, both economic and sociological. Residential flight has an enormous impact on a community while accelerated transfers to non-public schools mainly affect the school system. Methodological convenience and the indiscriminate use of operational definitions are not sufficient justification for the false assumption that a decline in white enrollment can be equated with the movement of white families out of a school district.

Organization of the Report

In this chapter an introduction to the study has been provided through a statement of purpose and review of the literature. Chapter II includes background material on Jefferson County and events leading to the implementation of the desegregation plan. Also, several studies conducted locally are reviewed. Chapter III describes the methodology of the study and the results are presented in Chapter IV. In Chapter V, the results are summarized and discussed and recommendations are presented.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

Community Profile

Louisville, the largest Kentucky city, is located within Jefferson County and on the southern bank of the Ohio River. According to the Louisville Chamber of Commerce (1979), the incorporated city of Louisville covers 65.2 square miles within a county covering 375 square miles. The Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area includes Bullitt and Oldham counties in Kentucky and the Indiana counties of Clark and Floyd. The five-county area encompasses 1,392 square miles.

Louisville has long been a center of commerce and industry and is rated as one of the top U.S. industrial markets by the U.S. Department of Commerce. Products include: chemicals, electrical appliances, synthetic rubber, lumber and timber products, farm equipment, foods and beverages, tobacco products, paints and varnishes and machinery (Chamber of Commerce, 1979). In addition to being a trade center, viable commerce and industry has also made Louisville a "working person's town." General Electric Appliance Division is the largest single employer with 20,000 employees. Jeffboat Company and the Ford Motor Company are second and third with 16,000 and 7,544 employees respectively (USCCR, 1976b, p. 66). The majority of industrial workers are unionized with the AFL-CIO having large memberships (Chamber of Commerce, 1979). In 1971 84 unions in the area were represented by 219 locals. More than 80 percent of the employees in manufacturing industries are organized (USCCR, 1976b, p. 66).

Approximately 25 percent of Kentucky's population resides in Louisville and Jefferson County. According to 1975 census data and the Human Services Coordination Alliance (1978), 331,510 persons reside in Louisville, and

including the city's population, an estimated 697,780 persons reside in Jefferson County.

Recent population trends in Louisville have been generally consistent with most metropolitan areas in the United States (HSCA, 1978, p. 11). Between 1960 and 1975, U.S. metropolitan areas grew by 22 percent; however, the metropolitan growth rate in the 1950's dropped from an average annual increase of 2.3 percent to 0.7 percent in the 1970's. Generally, population of cities is declining while the population of suburban areas is increasing. Consistent with national trends, the city of Louisville has steadily declined in population since 1960. Between 1970 and 1975, the population loss for Louisville accelerated to an average decline of 1.5 percent per year while population growth in outlying districts has increased.

In particular, the average annual population rate increase for Oldham County stands at 3.6 percent, and the annual and steady rate increase for Bullitt is five percent. These growths in population have largely been attributed to in-migration, mostly from Jefferson County. Furthermore, families moving to the outlying areas tend to be young and of childbearing age. Older persons and single, young adults are concentrated in central cities. This pattern has been true of Jefferson County (p. 12).

Metropolitan migration, furthermore, has affected geographic distribution of ethnic groups. Since the 1930's, Blacks have filled inner city vacuums left by out-migrating whites. The 1960's witnessed a massive out-migration of whites to the suburbs, and Black areas within central and western Louisville expanded. Consequently, "an increase in the distance between the population and concentrations of the two racial groups" has occurred (p. 13). In fact, the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights (November 7, 1974) reported:

> Louisville's ranking of 80th in the recent housing study of 109 cities puts it among the one-third 'most segregated' cities -- a complete turnabout from 1940 when Louisville was among the one-third 'least segregated' cities with a ranking of 32. (p. 1)

Though some middle-income Blacks have been able to move to suburbia, the movement has not been sufficiently extensive to represent an improvement in Black housing opportunities or a decline in residential segregation (HSCA, 1978, p. 13).

See Appendix A for additional demographic data.

School Profile

Louisville and Jefferson County enrollment data for the years 1956-1978 are presented in Table I. The ethnic composition of the Louisville system had changed from 26.2 percent Black and 73.8 percent white in 1956 to 51.6 percent Black and 48.4 percent white in 1973. The proportion of Black students in the Jefferson County system had remained fairly constant having risen from 3.8 percent in 1956 to 4.6 percent in 1973. The combined enrollment of the two systems in 1974, before they were legally merged on April 1, 1975, was 130,344; 20.3 percent Black and 79.7 percent white.

An investigation of segregation by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights (1972) in the Louisville schools stated:

> Racial isolation of students in Louisville Public Schools reached a 10-year high in 1971-72 school year and the racial isolation of elementary school students is higher than at any time since total segregation was abolished in 1956. (Inside cover)

In the Jefferson County system, the majority of Black students attended ethnically identifiable schools (USCCR, 1976b, p. 68).

TABLE I

JEFFERSON COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Fall Black/White Membership
Grades 1-12

1956-1978

	Louisville			Jefferson County		
	White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
1956	33,831	12,010	45,841	34,911	1,397	36,308
1957	33,232	12,790	46,022	38,619	1,422	40,041
1958	32,803	13,832	46,635	41,893	1,561	43,454
1959	31,848	14,756	46,604	45,657	1,717	47,374
1960	31,580	15,717	47,297	48,825	1,814	50,639
1961	31,274	16,789	48,063	52,480	1,921	54,333
1962	31,402	17,980	49,382	56,480	1,943	58,423
1963	30,883	19,366	50,249	61,365	1,962	63,327
1964	29,928	20,293	50,221	64,148	2,476	66,624
1965	28,940	21,212	50,152	66,751	2,594	69,345
1966	27,868	22,129	49,997	72,056	2,801	74,857
1967	28,358	22,904	51,262	78,982	2,809	81,791
1968	27,612	23,277	50,889	82,888	3,103	85,991
1969	26,706	23,379	50,085	86,409	3,134	89,543
1970	25,818	23,615	49,433	90,586	3,300	93,866
1971	24,561	23,346	47,907	91,763	3,478	95,241
1972	22,637	22,933	45,570	92,163	3,693	95,856
1973	21,024	22,431	43,455	90,107	4,382	94,489
1974	19,171	21,768	40,939	84,666	4,739	89,405
1975	X	X	X	92,081	26,424	118,505
1976	X	X	X	87,249	26,488	113,737
1977	X	X	X	82,141	26,262	108,403
1978	X	X	X	77,582	25,750	104,732

Compared to Jefferson County a larger proportion of the Louisville system's students came from lower socio-economic backgrounds. The Louisville system was considered progressive and oriented toward the problems of urban youth while the Jefferson County system had maintained a more traditional educational program (USCCR, 1976a, pp. 67-68).

Merger of the two school systems had been a community issue for over twenty years (Doyle, 1974, p. v). Since merger, there have been many controversies unrelated to desegregation, between and among school staff, board members and groups in the community.

Litigation

A staff report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights includes a comprehensive review of the litigation which led to the 1975 desegregation of the Jefferson County Schools (USCCR, 1976a). A summary of that review is presented in this section of the text. A chronology of desegregation events is presented in Appendix B.

Following the 1954 Brown decision, Louisville and Jefferson County implemented plans to end compulsory segregation in 1956. In the county Black high school students were allowed to attend the school serving their residential area; previously they had been transported to the city's Central High. Elementary students, for the most part, continued to attend all Black schools serving their residential area. A geographic assignment plan which included provisions for voluntary transfer was instituted in the city. Eighty-five percent of the white students scheduled to attend formerly Black schools requested transfers as did 45 percent of the Black students scheduled to attend formerly white schools (USCCR, 1976a, pp. 56-57). Though these efforts ended compulsory segre-

gation by 1956, the policies adopted by the Louisville and Jefferson County Boards of Education combined with the segregated residential nature of the community resulted in ethnically identifiable schools in both city and county school systems by the late 1960's.

In 1968, Green v. County School Board stated that voluntary transfer plans can be justified only if they result in school desegregation. In 1971, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education allowed student transportation as a means of eliminating segregation. Following these decisions, local organizations including the Kentucky Commission on Civil Rights and the Newburg Area Council pressed both school systems to take positive steps to reduce segregation. During the same period, the Office of Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education threatened to stop federal funds to the Jefferson County Board because the Newburg Elementary School was segregated. The Board voted to miss a deadline for submitting a plan to desegregate the schools (USCCR, 1976b, pp. 57-63).

In August, 1971, a suit was filed against the Jefferson County Board of Education seeking the desegregation of ethnically identifiable elementary schools (Newburg Area Council v. Board of Education). A suit, Haycraft et al. v. Board of Education of Louisville and an intervening complaint by the Louisville Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, were filed on June 22, 1972. The latter action sought both a merger of the county and city systems and a desegregation plan allowing no more than one-third Black students in any school. The Anchorage Independent District was also included but later dismissed from the case. Federal Judge, James Gordon, Western District

of Kentucky, consolidated the cases and held the trial December 1-18, 1972. Judge Gordon dismissed the case against both boards on March 8, 1973, stating that they were operating unitary systems. His opinion included the following:

> The only alternative to bringing back into Newburg the black children who were moved out for the sole purpose of integrating the school system would be to find white school children at distant school districts and transport them in a leap-frog or cross busing fashion past black children being transported from Newburg to the integrated adjacent white schools. We do not read in any decisions of the Supreme Court any requirement that such impracticalities be engaged in. (USCCR, 1976a, p. 73)

Plaintiffs appealed the case. On December 28, 1973, the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Judge Gordon on every point. Regarding the county district, the Court stated:

> The Jefferson County School District embraces all of Jefferson County except that portion included within the Louisville Independent School District and the Anchorage Independent School District.
>
> It has close to 96,000 students, approximately four percent of whom are black. Sixty-five percent of all students are bused to schools they attend. The Board operates 74 elementary schools, five middle schools, 18 combined junior and senior high schools, and six special schools.
>
> Prior to the decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), the Board maintained a racially-segregated school system in accordance with the requirements of Kentucky law. It did not provide a high school for black students and arranged for their attendance at Central High School, the black high school operated by the Louisville Board of Education. It operated the Newburg Elementary School, grades 1-9. Newburg was located in the one area in the county outside of Louisville having any substantial black population. It was a pre-Brown black school, and has remained black until the present day. Newburg is surrounded by a number of all-white or virtually all-white elementary schools. Within a distance of three miles from Newburg there are in addition to Price Elementary School, which will be discussed subsequently, nine substantially white elementary schools.

In 1969 Price Elementary School was constructed within a mile of Newburg. When Price opened in 1969-1970, 33.1 percent of the students were black. The percentage increased to 40.2 percent during 1970-71, to 43.9 percent during 1971-72, and now stands at 54.3 percent. It is practically an all walk-in school, with about three percent only of the pupils being bused.

Cane Run Elementary School is located in the northwest portion of the District close to the Louisville city limits. In 1966-67 the black student population of Cane Run was one point two percent. In 1967-68 it increased to six point two percent, in 1968-69 it increased to 11.5 percent, in 1969-70 it increased to 25.5 percent, in 1970-71 it increased to 36.7 percent and in 1971-72 to 45.5 percent. In 1972-73 it stood at 49 percent. Cane Run was rebuilt on the same site during 1972.

The evidence shows that Newburg, Price and Cane Run contain 56 percent of the black elementary students in the Jefferson County School District. (USCCR, 1976a, pp. 71-72)

Statistical data concerning the Louisville District was described as follows:

At the commencement of the 1972-73 school year, the Board was operating six academic high schools, thirteen junior high schools, and forty-six elementary schools. Three of the six academic senior high schools, Central, Male and Shawnee have between 94 percent and 100 percent black students. Central was a pre-Brown black school. Male and Shawnee were pre-Brown white schools. Two of the senior high schools, Atherton and Iroquois, have 97 percent and 99 percent white students. The sixth school, Manual, which shares a common attendance zone with Central and Male, has 40 percent black students. Atherton and Manual were pre-Brown white schools, and Iroquois was constructed after 1956.

There are thirteen junior high schools. Five of them, DuValle, Meyzeek, Parkland, Russell, and Shawnee, have between 95 percent and 100 percent black students. Four of them, Barrett, Gottschalk, Highland and Southern have between 94 percent and 99.5 percent white students. The remaining four, Manly, Manual, Western and Woerner, have between 25 percent and 64 percent black students. DuValle, Meyzeek and Russell were pre-Brown black schools; Parkland, Shawnee, Bartlett, Highland, Southern, Manly, Manual, Western and Woerner were pre-Brown white schools. Gottschalk was constructed after 1956.

> There are forty-six elementary schools. Nineteen have between 82 percent and 100 percent black students. Twenty-one have between 89 percent and 100 percent white students. The remaining six have between 16 percent and 55 percent black students. The twenty-one schools that have between 89 percent and 100 percent white students, were pre-Brown white schools. (USCCR, 1976a, pp. 69-70)

The Court of Appeals found that the county system had not filled Black schools to attendance capacity but were using portables and double shifts in nearly all white schools. The county system had, therefore, failed in its constitutional obligation to eliminate segregated schools (USCCR, 1976a, p. 74). The city system's contention that segregated schools were a result of residential patterns was rejected:

> . . .population shifts that changed the ethnic composition of some schools does not affect the (Louisville) board's duty to convert fully to a unitary system . . . The measure of any plan is its effectiveness in accomplishing desegregation . . . Because of the residual effects of past discrimination, the Louisville zoning assignment plan has not been effective despite the good intentions of the school board. As the Supreme Court stated in Swann: "All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. ." (USCCR, 1976a, p. 75)

The Court of Appeals returned the case to Judge Gordon stating:

> All vestiges of state-imposed segregation must be eliminated within each school district in the county. To accomplish such purpose, state-created school district lines shall impose no barrier. We do not require use of any particular device. Any plan of desegregation is to be effective for the 1974-75 academic year. (USCCR, 1976a, p. 76)

Judge Gordon heard desegregation proposals from the staff of both systems and then ordered his own plan, Plan X, on July 23, 1974. The order included the merger of the two systems. Two days later, in light of Milliken v. Bradley, the Supreme Court remanded the case to the Sixth Circuit Court for review. On December 11, 1974, the Sixth District reinstated its previous order while

pointing out differences between the Kentucky and Michigan cases:

> (In Milliken) there was no evidence that the outlying school districts had committed acts of de jure segregation or that they were operating dual school systems. Exactly the opposite is true here. . .
>
> The interdistrict remedy in this case would not be likely extensively to disrupt and alter the structure of public education in Kentucky, or even in Jefferson County, nor require the creation of a vast new super school district.
>
> Since the county is the basic educational unit of the state, there is provision under statutes for merger not available in Milliken.
>
> Since school district lines in Jefferson County had been ignored in the past for the purpose of segregation they might also be crossed for desegregation purposes. (USCCR, 1976a, pp. 80-81)

The Louisville Board of Education had initiated merger proceedings under the provisions of state law, and on April 1, 1975, the two districts were merged. In April, the Supreme Court denied appeals to reverse the Sixth Circuit Court's order. On July 17, 1975, a final order to Judge Gordon stipulated that a desegregation plan would be implemented at the beginning of the 1975-76 school year (USCCR, 1976a, pp. 81-83).

Litigation on aspects of the desegregation plan continued following implementation. The County Judge, Todd Hollenbach, (an elected administrative position), intervened and proposed an alternative plan which would depend heavily on voluntary reassignments. After hearing testimony from James Coleman, an expert witness who said that the plan would not eliminate ethnically identifiable schools, Judge Gordon rejected the proposal (USCCR, 1976a, p. 94).

First graders were not included in the transportation plan during the years 1975-76 through 1978-79; litigation continued on that issue. In May, 1979, Judge Gordon ordered the inclusion into the plan of first graders beginning in 1979-80 (Louisville Times, 5 May 1979).

The Plan

The plan ordered by Judge Gordon affected virtually all schools in Jefferson County. Elementary schools were to have enrollments of no less than 12 percent or more than 40 percent Black. Secondary schools were to have between 12.5 percent and 35 percent Black. The Court found that the ethnic balance in several schools fell within the established guidelines and that redistricting would bring still others into compliance. In total 29 schools were exempted from the transportation phase of the plan (Newburg Area Council, Inc. et al. v. Board of Education of Jefferson County, 1975, pp. 3-5).

The remaining schools, formerly Black and formerly white, were clustered or paired. The school system was instructed to provide transportation between those schools to achieve ethnic balances set by the Court. Officials anticipated that approximately 22,600 students would be transported. Because Black students comprised 20 percent of the population and white students 80 percent, the burden of busing fell on Black students. Estimates indicated that 84 percent of the white students would be transported for two years during grades 2-12 and 16 percent would be transported one year. Sixty-six percent of the Black students would be transported eight years during grades 2-12 and 33 percent would be transported nine years (Newburg Area Council, Inc. et al. v. Board of Education of Jefferson County, 1975, pp. 8-10).

A map illustrating the plan's pattern of exempt and clustered schools is presented in Appendix C. Also, a chart showing the alphabetical assignment procedure is included.

Implementation of the plan resulted in comprehensive desegregation. Nine percent of the white students were reassigned to formerly Black schools, and 46 percent of the Black students were reassigned to formerly white schools. The segre-

gation index was 27.9 during the first year of desegregation, down 54.8 from the previous year (Rossell, 1978a, p. 136).

Community Reaction

Observers of Jefferson County and Louisville in September, 1975, witnessed a new school year marked by citizen demonstrations, student boycotts and policemen carrying riot-control equipment. National television reported demonstrations reaching near-riot proportions, boycotts keeping white students absent from school for several weeks and city and county police forces gravely concerned with public safety by issuing riot-control equipment and implementing crowd-control techniques. The governor, furthermore, assigned additional state troopers and activated Kentucky National Guard units. At one point, "there were 1,000 guardsmen . . .guarding buses at night, riding buses as escorts for the children, and assisting in local police patrol duties (USCCR, 1976a, p. 105)."

As has apparently been true for other communities in similar circumstances, (Rossell, 1978a) local and state political leaders did not make supportive statements about the desegregation plan. In fact, the Jefferson County Judge sponsored a seminar entitled, "National Forum on Quality Education and Social Integration" on December 6 and 7, 1975, to seek alternative forms of desegregation. Speakers included prominent social scientists James Coleman and David Armor. During the following day, an apparently pro-desegregation group held a meeting designated "Louisville's Forum on School Desegregation (Courier-Journal, 6, 7, 8, December 1975)."

The merger of the Louisville and Jefferson County school systems was almost as controversial as the desegregation plan itself. In a document prepared by the school system, the controversy was described as follows:

The Jefferson County School System is an organization facing two large problems: merger and desegregation. In other systems, the issue of merger alone has caused serious disagreement within the community, and Louisville proves no exception. The merger issue has been facing this school system on a continuous basis for a quarter of a century. It has not been solved by agreement of the systems involved, and only under the threat of court order and upon the unilateral action of the former city school board has it been completed.

To compound the problem of merger, the new Jefferson County School System is now under court order to desegregate. This new system is the thirteenth largest in the nation and is the only district to face the problems related to merger and desegregation simultaneously.

The merger of school systems in Kentucky usually means the county board assumes the assets and responsibilities of the independent school system and, in turn, the independent school system ceases to exist or joins the county board in reduced strength. In this manner, the new school system can confront its problems with a unified, established, and agreed-upon philosophy. Further, the members of the new organization have common policies and procedures to guide them as a result of having one board as the policy-making body for the entire school system.

Such is not the case in the Louisville, Jefferson County School System merger, where merger was accomplished by a petition from the former Louisville Board of Education to the Kentucky State Department of Education. The Louisville System has a majority of Black student enrollment and the members of the board of education felt there was no viable means of desegregation; in addition, the system did not believe the finances were available to enable the system to develop and to implement a quality education program under these circumstances. Thus, in accordance with the existing merger law, merger was completed upon the order of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction on April 1, 1975.

When the merger was completed, the former Louisville Board of Education did not cease to exist. Neither did it join the Jefferson County Board of Education in reduced strength. Rather, by order of the State Board of Education, and upheld by the state's highest court, these two boards were joined in full strength.

Five members of the County Board were joined by five members of the former City Board to make a ten-member board of education for the newly merged system.

> To fully understand the magnitude of the problem this decision created, it would be well to examine the orientations of the two former boards. The City Board was faced with static enrollment, a declining financial base, a deficit budget, and a majority Black student enrollment. On the other hand, the County Board was faced with problems created by a suburban area, a rapidly increasing enrollment, an expanding financial base, and a large white majority student enrollment. To deal with and control the problems the City Board faced, it was necessary to develop a philosophy and orientation toward students which differed from the philosophy and student orientation developed by the County Board.
>
> To further compound the problem, the two boards were not legally joined or merged for all purposes. They were left as two separate entities for the purpose of creating plans to desegregate the newly merged school system by order of Federal District Court. Each former board was called upon to develop its own plan to accomplish this important action.
>
> Each of the two boards, then, from the perspective of its own philosophy, has been called upon to develop a desegregation plan for the entire merged system. The two plans developed differ in philosophy and orientation. They represent two separate approaches to the problem of desegregation. Thus, the membership of the new board has been involved in heated controversy and seemingly unreconcilable conflict since the April 1, 1975 merger. (Jefferson County Public Schools, November 14, 1975, pp. 9-10.)

Individuals and groups representing virtually all points of view criticized the school district staff during the first year of desegregation. One major source of criticism was the disproportionate suspension of minority students. The 1975-76 Black to white ratio of student suspensions in secondary schools during this first year of desegregation was 5 to 1 while, as already pointed out, Black students only contributed 20 percent of the total enrollment (Jefferson County Education Consortium, 1977, p. 132).

The United States Commission on Civil Rights held a hearing in Louisville on June 14-16, 1976. Testimony from scores of witnesses included students, teachers, administrators, public officials and citizens and represented both pro and anti desegregation groups in the community (USCCR, 1976a). A summary of the Louisville

hearing is included in a later report issued by the Commission (USCCR, 1976b).

The Commission's findings were as follows:

1. Elected county officials abdicated their responsibility to maintain law and order and to take an affirmative stand in support of the desegregation order, and thus perpetuated the belief of opponents to desegregation that demonstrated opposition would yield results. The failure of County Judge Hollenbach to request city police assistance in the force of disruptions on September 5, 1975, in the southwestern section of the county resulted in extensive property damage and bodily injuries.

2. Although the Chamber of Commerce made some initial attempts to unify the business community in support of peaceful desegregation, it yielded to intimidation from dissident elements in the community. As a result, many businesses that would not have supported antibusing forces publicly did so in order to protect themselves and their property.

3. In spite of community disruption, the schools desegregated peacefully and with minimal difficulty. Well developed human relations programs in individual schools facilitated the desegregation process.

4. Students generally responded positively to desegregation. Any tension and anxiety that existed was generated by community controversy and opposition. When community opposition abated after the first quarter of the school year, students settled down and accepted the first year of desegregation as a normal school year.

5. The failure of the school board to commit itself to carrying out the court order has contributed to a trend towards resegregation. Hardship transfers granted to a greater degree to white students and the exemption of first graders from transportation have changed the racial makeup of the schools from that specified by the court order.

6. The failure of the school administration to examine the causes of disproportionate suspension rates for black students and a similar failure to evaluate assignment practices that place a disproportionate number of black students in the Alternative School have caused members of the black community to question the integrity of the school administration. (pp. 65-85)

Local Studies

Since the implementation of the court-ordered desegregation plan, nine studies have been conducted locally concerning the problems of school desegregation, busing and housing desegregation. These studies have attempted to determine the effects of these factors in Louisville and Jefferson County as a community, as well as the relationships among these factors.

Five of the nine studies employed survey questionnaires to gather data; two other studies employed census data concerning population patterns, school enrollment figures, and a review of housing programs by the county Department of Housing and Urban Development. An eighth study closely examined discriminatory methods used by real estate agents and apartment complex operators against the housing of Blacks in Jefferson County. The ninth study examined newspaper articles during the initial period of court-ordered desegregation.

The present document, as described in Chapter III, used questions contained in two studies conducted by the Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs at Duke University in conjunction with Lou Harris and Associates. The results provided norms which were utilized in analyzing survey data collected in the present study.

The first of the Duke University studies was entitled Attitudes of Louisville and Jefferson County Citizens Toward Busing for Public School Desegregation-Results from the Second Year (1977). Its purpose was to explore public opinion regarding busing and related issues. Researchers sought data enabling citizens and leaders of Louisville and Jefferson County to informatively address their problems through the broadest possible perspective. The interview respondent group consisted of 882 persons, selected by scientific sampling techniques to represent the Louisville-Jefferson County citizenry. Selected citizens were contacted and

interviewed in their homes by professional interviewers during the late spring and early summer of 1977. As was the case with the second Duke study, all subjects interviewed were 18 years or older. A similar study was conducted in July of 1976, and opinions were compared between the 1976 and 1977 survey respondent groups. These questionnaires explored such issues as housing, white flight and the quality of education.

In 1976, 76 percent of the interview respondents listed educational problems as the vital issue in Louisville and Jefferson County while 54 percent of the 1977 respondents replied likewise. Seventy percent of those subjects cited busing as the worst educational problem in 1976, as did 48 percent of the 1977 subjects. White flight was identified through the questionnaire as follows: 55 percent of the parents who in 1977 had at least one child in a private school indicated that their private school child or children had attended a public school at one time. Fifteen percent of these parents cited busing or desegregation among their reasons for the change to a private school. The majority (66%) of the respondents gave religious or educational reasons for the transfer.

The second Duke study entitled, Is It the Buses or the Blacks? Self-Interest Versus Symbolic Racism as Predictors of Opposition to Busing in Louisville, investigated whether desegregation, as evidenced by racism (either symbolic or old-fashioned) or whether busing, as evidenced by high self-interest responses, motivates people to oppose court-ordered desegregation. One thousand forty-nine persons were randomly sampled from a grid of the city's geographic area.

Households were randomly chosen within sampling units, and the final respondents were randomly chosen from persons residing in the households. Interviews lasting approximately one hour and twenty minutes were conducted in the homes by trained interviewers of the same race as the respondent. Survey questions ex-

plored issues similar to those listed in the first study. Interestingly, although 51 percent of the whites and 90 percent of the Blacks considered it a good idea for Blacks and whites to go to school together, 91 percent of whites and 35 percent of Blacks were opposed to busing. The conclusions of this second Duke study were as follows:

1. Self-interest and personal convenience was very weakly and inconsistently related to opposition to busing.

2. Racial attitudes were much more closely related to anti-busing attitudes and the direction of the relationship was consistent: the more racist, the more opposed to busing.

3. The most important racial attitude and indeed the most important single correlate of opposition to busing was symbolic racism rather than the more familiar old-fashioned racism. (p. 33)

The authors further commented that for the adult population in Louisville-Jefferson County, "It was symbolic racism, that combination of anti-Black feeling and the perception that Blacks are violating the cherished values of civil Protestantism and making illegitimate demands for change in the racial status quo, that fueled the opposition to busing to prairie-fire-like proportion in Louisville (p. 34)."

The term "racism" is an evaluative and cannot be measured directly. "Symbolic racism" is even more obscure. For their conclusions, the authors were forced to interpret the motives of their sample. To the extent that the term is used descriptively and they discuss only relationships not causes, the author's conclusions are legitimate. When they try to explain the cause of opposition to busing by use of the abstraction, "symbolic racism," they are engaged in the logical fallacy of explaining behavior by means of its abstraction.

Since 1974, the Urban Studies Center of the University of Louisville has been conducting an ongoing series of studies entitled, Community Priorities and Evalua-

tions. As indicated by the title, the purpose of these studies was to identify and analyze issues, attitudes and opinions relative to the community.

The fifth report of this series (1976) studies busing and race relations. The survey sample group for this report consisted of 400 people who were randomly selected so as to be representative of the entire Jefferson County community by variables of age, sex and race. Respondents were asked the question, "What do you think are our community's (that is Louisville and Jefferson County's) most serious problems or needs?" Findings indicated that just over 62 percent of the respondents identified school as the major problem; the majority of responses were related to court-ordered busing (p. I-11). Although 62 percent of the Black interview respondents and 42 percent of the white respondents reported favoring "racial desegregation" over "racial segregation" or "something in between," 84 percent of these same respondents were opposed to busing for racial balance as it was put into effect in Jefferson County. Among those who were opposed to busing, 80 percent stated that they opposed it "very strongly."

The most recent Urban Studies Center report (1978, p. 13) used a randomly selected sample of 430 survey respondents. These persons were also representative of the community according to age, sex and race. This eleventh study found that for the first time since July of 1975, Jefferson County Public Schools had dropped from the first to the second position with 151 votes in the Problems and Needs tabulation. Of the 430 1978 interview respondents, 176 reported that they viewed police protection and the elimination of crime as being the community's most serious problem or need. For the past two and one-half years, schools had been the primary issue "mostly on the strength of community reaction to busing to achieve racial balance in the schools (p. 13)."

The Junior League of Louisville conducted a study using a survey questionnaire

format entitled, A Citizen's View of Quality Education (1977). The interview sample size of this study was 577. A random digit dialing technique was used to obtain the interview sample. Telephone numbers within the boundaries of Jefferson County were generated by a computer. By feeding in all the three-digit local area exchanges, the computer was then programed to randomly generate the last four digits of the telephone numbers. This method allowed for all persons in the Jefferson County area to have an equal chance of being selected, but it also generated a number of unlisted and new subscriber numbers as well as the listed ones. The primary purpose of this study was to define "quality education" as it was perceived by Louisville and Jefferson County residents. "Quality education" was defined by interview respondents as that which includes: "1) good teachers, 2) a firm foundation in the basics, defined as language, arts and mathematics, 3) a well-rounded curriculum; including a fund of basic information in history, literature and science, and enrichment programs such as art and music, 4) developing the desire to learn, both now and in the future, and 5) parents and the overall community working with the school system to ensure a quality education for all of our children." For purposes of the present study, the most important question asked in this survey was "How would you judge the present quality of education in our school system?" When given the choice of categories, only five percent of the respondents answered it was "very satisfactory" as compared with 21 percent who found it "very unsatisfactory." Thirty-two percent thought it to be "satisfactory" and 37 percent thought it "unsatisfactory." If the categories of "unsatisfactory" and "very unsatisfactory" are combined, approximately 58 percent of the respondents found the present quality of education to be unsatisfactory. The study conducted by the Junior League of Louisville also gave a breakdown of responses according to race. The responses "unsatisfac-

tory" and "very unsatisfactory" were combined; 60 percent of the white and 44 percent of the Black respondents found the present quality of education to be unsatisfactory. The results supply a normative population for purposes of comparison for the findings of the present study.

A recent report by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights (1977) is entitled, Housing Desegregation Increases as Schools Desegregate in Jefferson County. By using Black pupil residency figures, census information and data supplied by the local Section 8 Housing Assistance Program, the Commission concluded that "The increase of Black pupils in suburban Jefferson County in the past three years is far greater than the increase for any three year period since 1956 (p. 5)." Since 1940, the trends in the housing market showed increasing housing segregation, but since 1974, the trend reversed showing increased housing desegregation. The Commission attributes this reversal in housing trends to two factors. The first was the school desegregation plan encouraging Black parents to move to areas in which they are in the racial minority exempting their children from busing for eight or nine of their 12 years. The second factor is the success of the Section 8 Housing Assistance program. This highly effective program has placed 434 Black families (through the end of 1976), who would have otherwise been unable to relocate. Of these 434 families 266 (61%) chose desegregated housing.

The conclusions, however, should be considered tentative because there was no way of determining precisely where the Blacks had moved. Their assumption that the movement was mainly to white neighborhoods is reasonable because Jefferson County is nearly 95 percent white. However, there are also Black neighborhoods and because of boundary changes resulting from the implementation of the desegregation plan, there was no way of determining precisely what proportion moved to those areas.

The study entitled, Discriminatory Practices Determine Housing Choices In Fayette and Jefferson (June, 1977), closely examined wide-spread housing discrimination in Jefferson County. Individuals were selected to conduct tests with a number of real estate agents and apartment managers. These individuals were carefully screened and paired in teams consisting of one Black and one white person. Teammates were further matched according to sex, general appearance and personality traits. Age and sex were considered important to eliminate the possibility of discrimination based on either of those factors; general appearance and personality traits were considered important because it was necessary for both testers to conduct themselves in a similar manner and to evoke a similar response from tested brokers and apartment managers in the survey. The study includes seventy apartment complexes and real estate offices. The results of the study are as follows:

1. Apartments were available immediately for white testers, whereas Black teammates were courteously told nothing was available for three months, or only three bedroom apartments were vacant whereas a one bedroom had been requested.

2. Homes were available for white testers to inspect and buy as requested in terms of location, size and price. For the Black teammates nothing was available at the specified location, or specified price or of the size requested.

3. In the forty real estate office tests, Black and white testers were given different information on financing homes selling at the specified price in thirty-three cases.

4. White testers were told the agent could assist in arranging financing; Black testers were told they would have to obtain their own financing, that money was "tight," and were quoted higher interest rates.

5. In only one case was there a reversal, giving preferential treatment to the Black tester. (p. 3)

Finally, an informal investigation conducted by Suzy Post of the Louisville and Jefferson County Human Relations Commission involved the collection and examination of newspaper articles from the Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times newspapers. All newspaper articles pertaining to busing, desegregation and the Jefferson County Schools that appeared during August 25-October 4, 1975, were categorized as negative, neutral and positive. The "negative coverage" category described anti-busing rallies, human interest stories on anti-busing leaders and riots. Positive news coverage described school business being carried on as usual, Blacks and whites in friendly interaction and supportive desegregation plan statements. Findings indicate that 50 percent of the total collected articles were of a negative nature, 33 percent were neutral and only 17 percent were positive. Ms. Post also pointed out that newspaper pictures seemed to run in about the same proportion, and that in her opinion, had more of an impact on community perceptions than did the articles themselves (Post, 1978).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In order to answer the questions presented in Chapter I, three types of analyses were utilized: 1) birth data for Jefferson County, 2) public and non-public school enrollment data, and 3) data obtained from interviews with parents.

Question 1. Has there been a decline in white public school enrollment that can be associated with the implementation of the desegregation plan?

a. Are white students enrolling in non-public schools within Jefferson County to avoid participation in the desegregation plan?

b. Are white families moving their residences outside of Jefferson County to avoid participation in the desegregation plan?

This two part question was mainly answered by means of trends analysis. This provided a measure of how enrollments in Jefferson and surrounding counties changed after the implementation of the desegregation plan. The parents of students who were enrolled in non-public schools and schools outside Jefferson County were interviewed to determine if the change in enrollment was related to desegregation.

Question 2. Are parents of public school children making residential changes within the county to avoid the busing of their children?

This question was answered by means of an analysis of the enrollment patterns of schools within Jefferson County. Hypotheses generated were then subjected to confirmatory analysis by means of interviews with the affected parents.

Question 3. What are the features of court-ordered desegregation that influence enrollment changes in the schools?

This question was answered by means of statistical analysis of enrollment data for individual schools using characteristics of the desegregation plan and of the individual schools as independent variables.

Question 4. What are the characteristics of the following three groups of parents:

a. those who transfer their children to non-public schools?

b. those who move out of the county?

c. those who move within the county?

This question was answered by means of analysis of the survey interview data.

Trends Data

Public school enrollment data were collected beginning in 1956, and updated through the 1978-79 school year. Public schools in Kentucky are required to submit an enrollment report to the State Department of Education at the end of the first month of each school year and those data were used in this study. An estimate of the ethnic breakdown of these data was obtained from research conducted by Doyle (1974) for the years 1956-73. After 1973, information concerning ethnicity was available from school system reports.

Non-public school enrollment data were secured from the Office of Catholic Schools and the Kentucky Department of Education. In 1978, non-public schools were no longer required to report enrollment to the Department of Education. Ten non-public schools failed to file the report, and the data for those schools were secured by contacting the schools directly. Non-public school enrollment had been declining prior to 1974. The declining enrollment trend was projected from 1973 through 1978, and designated expected enrollment. Estimates of the number of students enrolled in non-public schools who might not have enrolled had there been no desegregation plan were made by noting the difference between the expected and actual enrollment. Ethnic breakdowns for non-public school enrollment were not available; however, a Catholic school official estimated that the number of Black students in that system had never exceeded five percent (Dumeyer, 1977 & 1979).

In this study, it was assumed that the ethnic ratio remained constant, and the data from non-public schools were treated as white enrollment.

White birth data for the years 1943 through 1972, were obtained from Kentucky Vital Statistics (Kentucky Department of Health). These data were assembled in twelve year aggregates and plotted in relation to the school years in which those individuals would have been of school age; e.g., the twelve year aggregate 1953-64, was plotted opposite the school year 1970-71. Total white enrollment was calculated by combining the non-public enrollment and the white public enrollment for the years 1965 through 1978. The total white enrollment as a percentage of aggregate births was calculated and displayed graphically. This procedure made it possible to observe the relationship between total white enrollment and aggregate births before and after desegregation.

Estimates of the number of students lost to the public schools because of residential movement out of Jefferson County were derived by extrapolation; i.e., the trend in total white enrollment established prior to the impact of the desegregation plan was extended from 1974 through 1978. This made possible the designation of an expected total white enrollment which could be compared with the actual enrollment. The difference between expected and actual total white enrollment is an estimate of the loss through out-migration which occurred when the desegregation plan was implemented.

Several procedures were used to validate the results of the trends analysis effort. First, a demographer with the Urban Studies Center, University of Louisville, prepared net migration estimates for Jefferson County from 1960 through 1975 (Brockway, 1977). Secondly, enrollment data for the eight contiguous counties were obtained from the Kentucky and Indiana State Departments of Education for the years 1970 through 1978. In addition, estimates of population

changes in Jefferson County, based on U.S. Census data, between 1970 and 1975, were obtained from a publication by a Jefferson County planning agency (HSCA, 1978).

School Specific Data

An examination of the enrollment characteristics of each school was necessary for two purposes. The first purpose was for answering Question 2 which involves a determination of where families were moving within the county and how this was related to the desegregation plan. The second purpose was for answering Question 3. This question concerned the relationship between characteristics of the schools, of the desegregation plan, and how those factors were related to enrollment patterns in the county schools.

Movement within the county The desegregation plan provides an incentive for families to make residential changes in order to avoid the busing of their children. A student who lives in a school attendance district in which he or she is in the ethnic minority, is not bused away from that school.

Evidence concerning the existence of a pattern of residential changes by white parents to areas where they would be in the ethnic minority are consistently negative. During the second year of the study, a search made for such families was largely unsuccessful.

On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that Black families are moving from essentially all Black areas of the western part of the city of Louisville to the county where they reside in desegregated or mostly white areas. Interviews with Black parents conducted during the second year of the study supported this view as did a report published by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, Commonwealth of Kentucky in 1977. Although restricted in its conclusions because all appropriate data were not available, this report supported the

hypothesis that Blacks were moving to the county from the city.

A further analysis of the impact of the desegregation plan on residential patterns within Jefferson County cannot be conducted until the 1980 census data are available. It is possible, however, to infer residential changes from enrollment changes. This approach was used to monitor the movement of Black families to areas of the county where they would be exempt from busing. The total Black enrollment has remained relatively constant since the 1975-76 school year; therefore, increases in Black enrollment in formerly white schools accompanied by a decline in enrollment in formerly Black schools indicated that Blacks were moving to attendance areas in white neighborhoods.

Relationship between enrollment and school characteristics In order to evaluate a desegregation plan, it is necessary to determine the extent of compliance both inside and outside of the school system. Other parts of this study focused on ways that parents avoided compliance with the plan by moving out of the county, having their children enroll in non-public schools, or moving within the county. Other methods of avoiding the intent of the plan included: academic or medical transfers, temporary residence with relatives, and/or misrepresentation of address. Regardless of method used, these various parental responses to the desegregation plan can be expected to be manifested in the enrollment patterns of groups in similar schools. For instance, if white students were systematically avoiding formerly Black schools, there should have been fewer white students attending these schools than anticipated by the desegregation plan. In the first year of the study, expected enrollment was computed using an algorithm based on 1974-75 enrollment figures adjusted by the proportion of white and Black pupils that the plan ordered bused (Appendix D).

During the second year of the study, expected enrollment by school was computed by means of a projection of 1975-76 enrollment figures adjusted by a projection based on the trends analysis; i.e., enrollment figures for white and Black students for 1975-76, were separately multiplied by a constant representing the percentage of white and Black students that were projected for 1976-77.

During the third year of the study, enrollment totals by school for 1975-76, were subtracted from those of 1978-79, to describe overall changes since the desegregation plan was implemented.

The following variables were examined:

a. geographical location - East, West, South (The eastern part of the county generally contains the higher socio-economic level white families. The South has a predominance of blue-collar families and the West has a predominantly Black population.)

b. former status of school - formerly white, Black or desegregated,

c. type of school - elementary, jr. high or middle, high school,

d. whether school was exempt - exempt, non-exempt.

Means and standard deviations for each category of these variables are provided. Because these categories are not independent, multiple correlation analyses were performed to determine the relationship between the above variables and the dependent variables already discussed. In conducting multiple correlations or multiple regression analyses, the order in which the variables are entered is crucial. Shared variance is accrued by variables entered into the equation first. Logic based on the primacy of factors was used as the basis for determining the order in which the variables were to be entered. The most primary factors, the ones which are causal but are not affected by others (geographical location, type of school, former status), are entered first. Because the necessary assumptions could not be met, no formal causal models were developed;

however, the graphic portrayal of path analysis was used to help clarify the relationships. Because causal models were not being tested, partial correlations were used rather than beta weights or path coefficients.

Survey Data

Seven sets of interviews were conducted during the three years of the study (Table II). Because of difficulties with data sources, as explained below, different procedures were used in selecting the required samples.

TABLE II

Survey Interviews Conducted

	White Parents			Black Parents
	Moved out of county	Transfers to non-public	Moved within county	Moved within county
Year I 1976-77	X			
Year II 1977-78	X	X	X	X
Year III 1978-79		X		X

Out of county moves year 1 The Jefferson County School System supplied a list of 14,312 names of white students who were enrolled during the spring quarter of 1976, but who had not enrolled as of October, 1976. Information provided for each student included name, address, birthdate, grade, school code, and parents' names. A random sample of 458 students, approximately 3.2 percent of the total, was identified and a search of the records for each student was conducted. Local school offices were contacted for information about individual students. Many of the students were discovered to be enrolled in the Jefferson County School District at the time of the investigation which reduced the size of the

sample. Some students were discovered to be in schools other than the one they were expected to attend, some had graduated, and others could not be located. This procedure yielded the names of 47 students whose records had been sent to school districts within 75 miles of Jefferson County. Figure 1 shows the percentage of the sample by category.

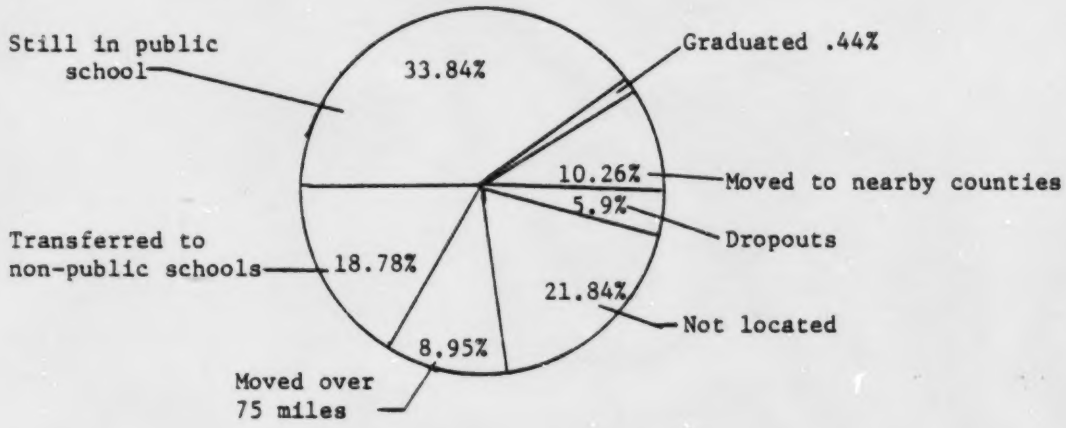

Figure 1. Sampling attrition by category for year 1.

The sample of 47 was further reduced when it was discovered that the families of eight students continued to reside in Jefferson County, and the families of nine students could not be located. The remaining 30 students represented only 28 families because two sets of siblings were included. Three of the 28 had unlisted telephone numbers.

Out of county moves year 2 Due to faulty record keeping procedures in the Jefferson County School System, specifically the failure to maintain the school system's magnetic tape library, it was impossible to obtain a sample similar to the one used in the first year of students whose families had moved out of the county. Instead, the sample was obtained from transcript request forms for the month of September, 1977. Requests from schools in the eight surrounding counties of Bullitt, Hardin, Spencer, Oldham, Clark, Floyd and Harrison were utilized.

A sample of 111 names was randomly selected from these forms. Personological data for each student was obtained from the Jefferson County School System. It was necessary to obtain telephone numbers either through the telephone information service or through telephone directories because the school system does not maintain telephone numbers for students at a central location. In many cases, the information provided was not sufficient to locate a student's family through telephone information services. In 42 cases, no listing for the sample names could be obtained in the locality to which the child's transcript had been sent. Five cases had private numbers, one number had been disconnected, and two were unavailable though five attempts to reach the respondent were made. Thus, a total of 45 percent of the sample could not be contacted. Only two percent refused to participate in the survey. Six percent of the sample were Black and, therefore, were not utilized in the survey. Twenty-one percent of the sample families were not listed in the locality to which the transcript was sent; instead, they were found listed in the 1978 phone directory for Louisville-Jefferson County. There was no attempt to contact this portion of the sample group because it seemed reasonable to assume that these families had not moved out of Jefferson County though their child's transcript had been sent to an out-county school. Completed interviews totaled 27.

Transfers to non-public schools year 2 The list of 14,312 students enrolled in the spring of 1976 but not in the fall of 1976, provided by the district and described earlier, yielded 86 students identified as attending non-public schools in Jefferson County.

The sample of 86 was reduced to 83 because two students on the list were duplications, and one student had been placed in the wrong category. Of the

sample of 83, two respondents had unlisted numbers, and two had phones which had been disconnected. Another group of 20 potential respondents could not be located through the telephone book or directory assistance. Nine respondents refused to participate in the survey. The sample of responses available for analysis totaled 50.

Transfers to non-public schools year 3 As described under the section, Out of county moves year 2, data for students enrolled in the spring of 1977, who failed to enroll in the fall of 1977, were unavailable. The sample was obtained from transcript request forms for students leaving public schools to attend non-public schools in Jefferson County during the months of July-November, 1977. A sample of 200 students was randomly selected from a total population of 527. Of these, 102 had requested that transcripts be sent to Catholic schools. Before interviews could be conducted, it was necessary to obtain phone numbers from telephone directories since this information was not included in the school system's records. In many cases, the information provided on the transcripts was not sufficient to locate a student's family through telephone information and directory services. Furthermore, there were other factors that caused the sample to be narrowed. A breakdown of these factors is provided in Table III. It shows only 93 complete interview responses were obtained; 51 with parents of children who had transferred to non-Catholic schools and 42 with parents of children who had transferred to Catholic schools.

TABLE III

Non-Public School Interviews
Year 3 Sampling Attrition

	Non-Catholic	Catholic
Telephone number not available	-30	-40
Telephone number incorrect	- 9	- 8
Subject refused to respond	- 7	- 3
Parent already interviewed for sibling	- 3	- 0
Response terminated before completion	- 2	- 5
Total Attrition	-51	-56
Initial Sample	102	98
Completed Interviews	51	42

Within county moves by Black students year 2 A list of all Black elementary students who were in the minority but who were not bused, was obtained from the Jefferson County School System. This list contained 2,085 names. A sample of 170 Black students was randomly selected from this population and stratified so as to select Black students from each school in numbers proportional to enrollment of Blacks in that school. Because of names not listed in telephone information services, unlisted numbers, and parents who did not meet the criterion of having recently moved, a total of only 55 Black parents was interviewed.

Within county moves by Black students year 3 A process similar to year 2 was used in year 3. A sample of 253 student names was selected from a list of 1,612 and stratified as in the previous year. Because of the problem of telephone numbers that could not be located or which were unlisted, wrong or disconnected,

only 74 completed interviews were obtained. Thirty-four interviews were with persons who had not moved within the last five years, 32 were with persons who had moved within the county, and eight were with persons who had moved into Jefferson County from another area.

Within county moves by white students year 2 Sampling procedures for this group were similar to those used for identifying Black parents. The beginning sample was smaller, 52, and after the loss due to attrition from factors already mentioned, only 11 interviews were successfully completed. The type of subject sought, white parents who had moved to formerly Black attendance areas in order for their child to be in the minority and avoid the inconvenience of busing, could not be located.

Questionnaire Design

During the first year of the study, parents of students who had moved their residences out of Jefferson County were interviewed. The major purpose of those interviews was to determine the extent to which the desegregation plan had influenced the families' decision to move. The interview schedule and notes on its development are contained in Appendix E.

With the exception of the first year interviews of parents who moved out of the county, all interview schedules followed the same general format with specific questions altered for certain categories of parents. The questionnaires were administered by telephone and transferred directly onto coding sheets. An accompanying sheet of stock answers was used to cope uniformly with refusals or respondent questions (see Appendix F). The questionnaires were devised so that no more than fifteen minutes would be needed for each interview. A half-day session of training was provided by an experienced telephone interviewer followed by a pre-test of the instrument on a dozen appropriate subjects. As a result

of this procedure, minor changes were made in the survey instruments. Questions were included which focused on the relationship between the desegregation plan and a parents' decision to avoid having their children bused. Other questions measuring attitudes were asked in order to provide a clearer picture of the reasons such decisions were made by parents.

Some of the questions used in the survey were borrowed directly and by permission of the authors. Sources included: the University of Louisville's Urban Studies Center's Community Priorities and Evaluations Survey No. 5., February, 1976, the Duke University/Louis Harris Attitudes of Louisville and Jefferson County Citizens Toward Busing for Public Desegregation, September, 1977, and the Louisville Junior League's A Citizen's View of Quality Education, April, 1977.

Limitations

1) Although the desegregation plan was implemented in the fall of 1975, the study was not initiated until the summer of 1976. For this reason, it was not possible to interview those parents who either moved out of the county or who had their children transferred to non-public schools prior to 1976-77 school year.

2) During the second year of the study, the interview schedule was changed as a result of the formative evaluation of the interviews which took place after the first year. Changing the instrument resulted in a much better interview schedule, but it had the disadvantage of preventing direct comparisons between the first and second year of the study.

3) Obtaining accurate student records from the school system was quite difficult. At the same time that the desegregation plan was implemented, the Louisville Independent School District was merged with the Jefferson County School System. As a part of that process, the data processing and student record sys-

tems also had to be merged. Record keeping procedures had not been adequately reconciled to facilitate accessibility or accuracy. The particular method used to keep track of students did not involve assignment of a unique number for each student, so alphanumeric matching of names was necessary for locating student files. This was an awkward procedure because a change in even one letter prevents matching. For example, Joe Smith, Joseph Smith, and Joe S. Smith were each treated separately even though they might have represented one student. This contributed to a high rate of sampling attrition.

4) As reported in Chapter II, there were many differences between the Louisville and Jefferson County systems. Merger produced additional conflict and resulting publicity, in all probability, undermined public confidence in the schools. It was not possible to determine the extent to which parental decisions to avoid the school system were influenced by this factor as opposed to the desegregation plan per se.

5) Extrapolations of school enrollment trends were made to estimate the impact of transfers to non-public schools and residential moves on public school enrollment. While the extrapolations used seem reasonable, they are always open to question because it is impossible to know what would have happened if desegregation had not occurred.

6) The use of the case study, itself, poses some limitations. It is difficult to infer cause using these approaches and impossible to distinguish between the impact of other events that occurred simultaneously with the implementation of the desegregation plan. Inferential methods are inappropriate in case studies, so a different logic is required for distinguishing between important and trivial effects.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Trends Data

White public school enrollment data are presented in Figure 2. Birth data for Jefferson County for the years 1943 through 1972 are grouped in twelve year aggregates and graphed opposite the corresponding school year; e.g., 1954-65 birth data are shown opposite the 1971-72 school year when those children were of school age. The peak public school enrollment was attained during the 1970-71 school year and corresponded with the highest number of aggregate births. Preceding desegregation threats in the Louisville community, the white public school enrollment began to drop gradually between 1970-71 and 1972-73. From 1972-73 to 1973-74, again preceding any desegregation threat, white enrollment began to decline at a more rapid rate. Trends data used in this section of the report are displayed in Appendix G.

It appeared certain during the spring and summer of 1974 that a desegregation plan would be implemented in September of 1974; however, court action delayed the actual implementation until September of 1975. Figure 2 reveals a sharp decline in white enrollment between 1973-74 and 1974-75, and an even greater decline between 1974-75 and 1975-76. The decline has continued but at a decreasing rate through 1978-79.

Enrollment data shown in Figure 2 were reported for the end of the first month of school 1960-61 through 1978-79 with the exception of the 1975-76 school year. The desegregation plan was implemented in September 1975, and community reaction included boycotts, street demonstrations and near-riots in some sections of the community. In reporting fall enrollment to the State Department of Education for that year, the school system used the end of the first quarter

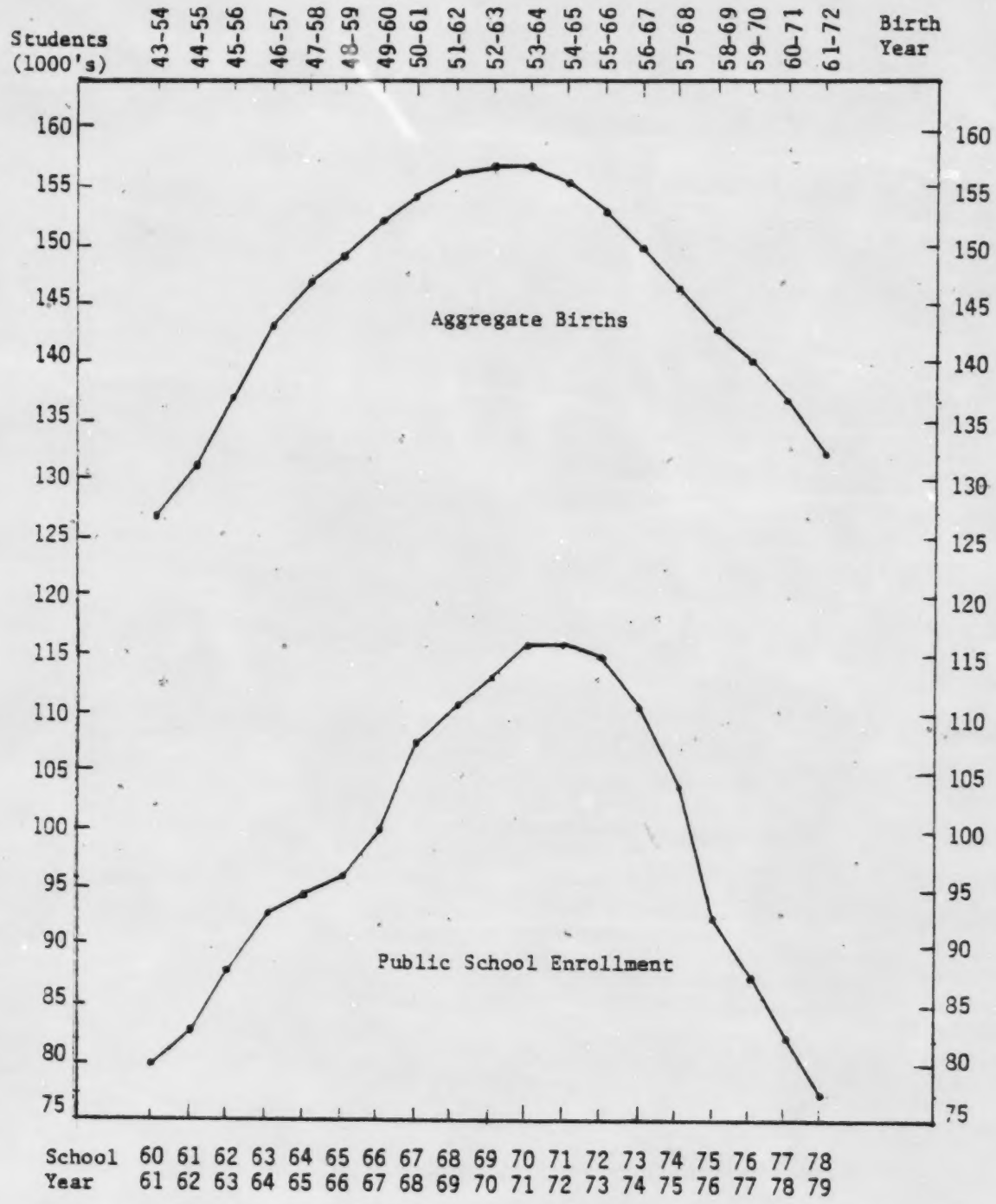

Figure 2. Jefferson County white aggregate births and white public school enrollment

(third month) figure, and it is used in this report. Additionally, interviews with school system officials (Berlin, 1977; Doyle, 1977; Espin, 1977) lead to the conclusion that the end of the quarter figure was artificially depressed by 2,500 to 3,000 students. Information from those interviews can be summarized as follows: 1) an estimated 2,000 students who would have ordinarily enrolled during the fall quarter waited until after the beginning of the winter quarter because of the boycott action and other community unrest; 2) truancy cases adjudicated in the courts during 1975-76 were 800 more than during a normal year; and 3) although precise figures are not available, it appeared that many students who became sixteen during the summer and fall of 1975 did not return to school. The dropout rate for grades 7-12 reported by the school system did increase from 3.8 percent in 1974-75 to 5.9 percent in 1975-76 (Jefferson County Public Schools, July, 1976).

It is obvious from the preceding analysis that a decline in white public school enrollment took place and that a portion of the decline was attributable to the declining birthrate. The sharp declines noted in 1974 and again in 1975 were correlated in time with significant desegregation events and required further analysis.

Non-public school enrollment data for the years 1965-66 through 1978-79 are presented in Figure 3. No ethnic breakdown of non-public school data is available. However, officials of the Catholic school system estimate that the Black enrollment in that system has never exceeded five percent (Dumeyer 1977, 1979) In this study, it is assumed that other non-public schools in Jefferson County enroll an even smaller percentage of Black students.

Non-public school enrollment was on the decline until the school year 1974-75 (see Figure 3). From the 1965-66 total of 46,165 students to the 1973-74

total of 25,718 students, non-public school enrollment declined by 20,447. Consistent with the national trend, parochial schools in Jefferson County were ex-

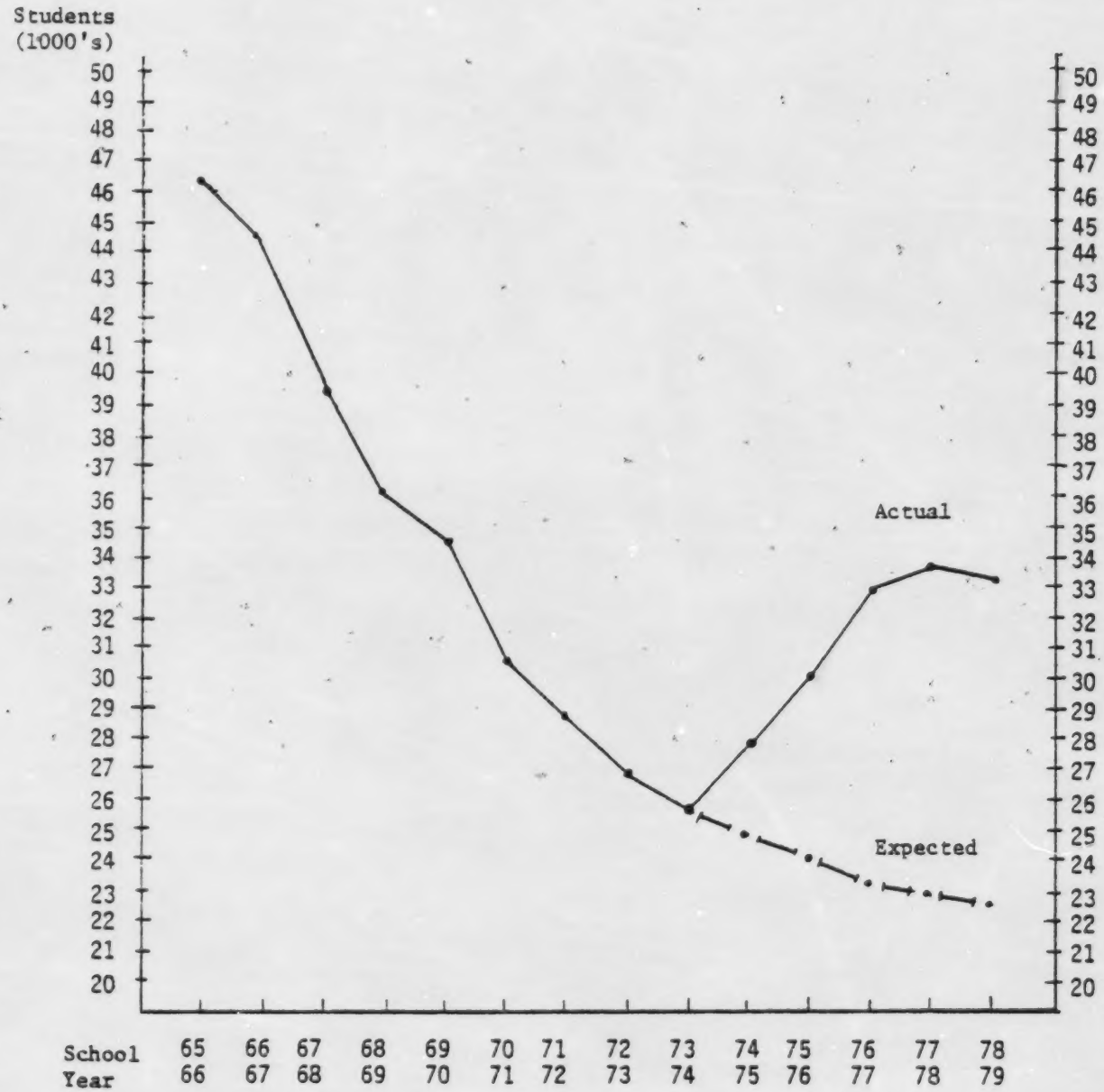

Figure 3. Jefferson County non-public enrollment

periencing losses in enrollment. An article in the local newspaper (Courier-Journal, 28 May 1973) commented on the plight of private schools in 1973. The article reported that the Kentucky Home School for girls had merged with Louisville Country Day for boys. The Kentucky Military Institute, one of the oldest private military prep schools in the nation, became coeducational in 1971 in an attempt to keep its campus open, but was finally forced to close in 1973. And finally, the Collegiate School for girls decided to accept males in the fall of 1973.

On July 23, 1974, Judge James Gordon by mandate of the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court in Cincinnati, ordered merger of the Louisville and Jefferson County School Districts and the implementation of a desegregation plan beginning September 1974. Although the plan did not actually go into effect until the following school year, the downward trend in non-public school enrollment which had begun as early as 1965-66, sharply reversed in the 1974-75 school year following the initial threat of desegregation. Enrollment in non-public schools increased by 2,197 students in the 1974-75 school year following the desegregation "scare;" gains of approximately 2,500 students were registered in 1975-76, the first year of the desegregation plan, and again in 1976-77. The rate of increase slowed slightly in 1977-78 with an enrollment gain of 1,057. In 1978-79, non-public school enrollment decreased by 765 students.

The 1974-75 enrollment increases in non-public schools occurred primarily in Catholic schools. Later increases were evidenced mainly in other non-public schools (Table IV). The Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Louisville, Thomas J. McDonough, issued a statement on February 27, 1974, in which he laid down stringent guidelines for the admission of students to the Catholic schools. A reaffirmation of the statement was issued on February 12, 1975 (see Appendix I).

These statements by the Archbishop were apparently somewhat successful in preventing the Catholic schools from becoming a haven for parents and children avoiding desegregation.

TABLE IV
Enrollment in Non-Public Schools

School Year	Catholic	Non-Catholic	Total
73-74	23,430	2,288	25,718
74-75	25,209	2,706	27,915
75-76	25,553	4,776	30,329
76-77	26,049	6,895	32,944
77-78	26,266	7,725	33,991
78-79	26,116	7,110	33,226

Since the actual implementation of the desegregation plan in 1975, a 45 percent increase in the number of private, non-catholic schools in the metropolitan area has occurred. Private schools which were on the verge of closing in the early 1970's, were turning applicants away in 1977 (Courier-Journal, 26 March 1977).

Further analysis of non-public school enrollment required an extrapolation of the data beginning with the 1974-75 school year. This extrapolation is shown as expected in Figure 3. The extrapolation was obtained by projecting the non-public school enrollment along the trend line which had been established prior to the first desegregation event, i.e., the threat of a desegregation order in Jefferson County in the spring and summer of 1974. The sharp gain in non-public school enrollment correlated in time with this first desegregation event.

Table V shows expected and actual enrollment and the difference between the two for the years 1973-74 through 1978-79.

TABLE V
Jefferson County Non-Public School Enrollment

School Year	Actual	Expected	Difference
73-74	25,718	25,718	-0-
74-75	27,915	24,900	3,015
75-76	30,329	24,200	6,129
76-77	32,944	23,600	9,344
77-78	33,991	23,100	10,891
78-79	33,226	22,700	10,526

The difference column estimates the number of students attending non-public schools who might not have attended in the absence of a desegregation order. These data show that many parents in Jefferson County transferred their children to non-public schools at the same time that the desegregation plan was implemented.

The declining public school enrollment was a function of a declining birth rate, and beginning in 1974, the transfer of students to non-public schools. Further analysis of the enrollment data was conducted to estimate the effects of out-migration.

Figure 4 presents total white enrollment (public and non-public) by treating the non-public school enrollment as an essentially white population and combining it with the public school enrollment. Thus, an approximate total white enrollment in Jefferson County schools from 1965-66 through 1978-79 is represented. In addition, Figure 4 includes the white aggregate birth data for 1948-59 through

1961-72. The peak in total white enrollment was attained in 1969-70, one year before the peak in both aggregate births and public school enrollment. From 1969-70 through 1974-75, the total white enrollment declined and roughly paralleled the decline in aggregate births. A sharp drop was recorded in 1975-76, coincident with the first year of desegregation. The decline continued in 1976-77 through 1978-79 at a slower rate. As previously noted, the 1975-76 enroll-

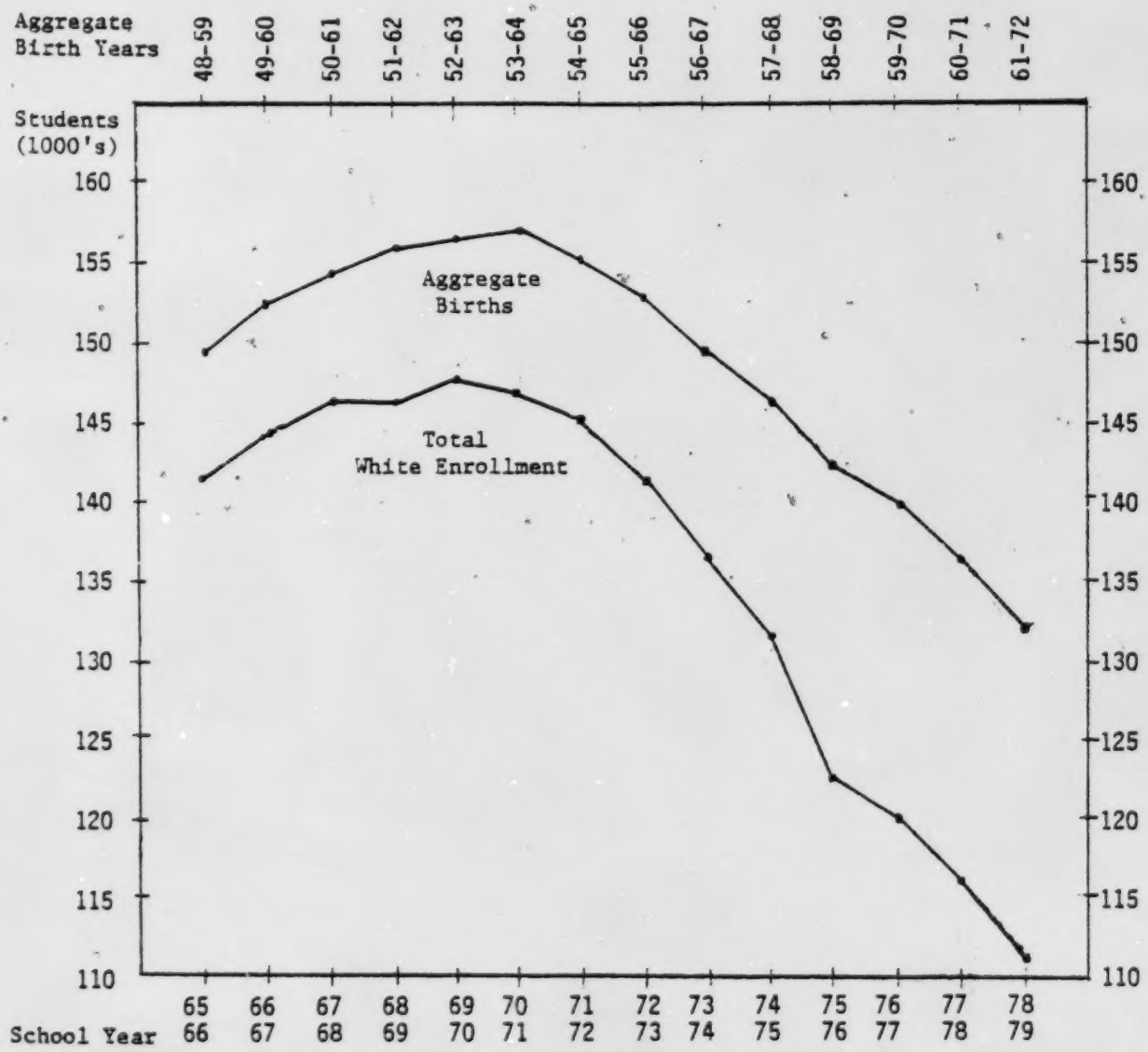

Figure 4. White aggregate births and total white enrollment

ment was probably artificially depressed because many students failed to enroll in the public schools until after the end of the first quarter when these data were collected.

An unusual decline in total white enrollment for the 1968-69 school year is reflected in Figures 4 and 5. Two circumstances may have been related to that decline. First, the period was one of civil rights activism and considerable unrest in urban areas throughout the nation. In Louisville, open housing advocates and opponents demonstrated in the spring and summer of 1967. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led a demonstration on March 30, 1967 (Courier-Journal, 31 March 1967). The Louisville Board of Alderman passed an open housing ordinance on September 12, 1967 (Courier-Journal, 13 September 1967). Second, due to the rising birthrate, both public and non-public schools were overcrowded during this period. Double sessions were being used in many Jefferson County schools. The Catholic schools had discontinued first grade in 1967, which placed an additional burden on both the Louisville and Jefferson County systems. These factors may have contributed to a one year acceleration of white out-migration.

Additional analysis of the trend in total white enrollment in Jefferson County was possible when these same data were displayed in Figure 5. This graph shows total white enrollment as a percentage of aggregate births for the years 1965-66 through 1978-79. Also, for the years 1975-76 through 1978-79, an expected total white enrollment as a percentage of aggregate births is represented. The expected total white enrollment was determined through an extrapolation of the decline which had begun in 1967. The decline was incremented by .15 percent for each year, 1975 through 1978.

The data presented concerning total white enrollment indicate that losses of white students began in Jefferson County much earlier than the advent of the de-

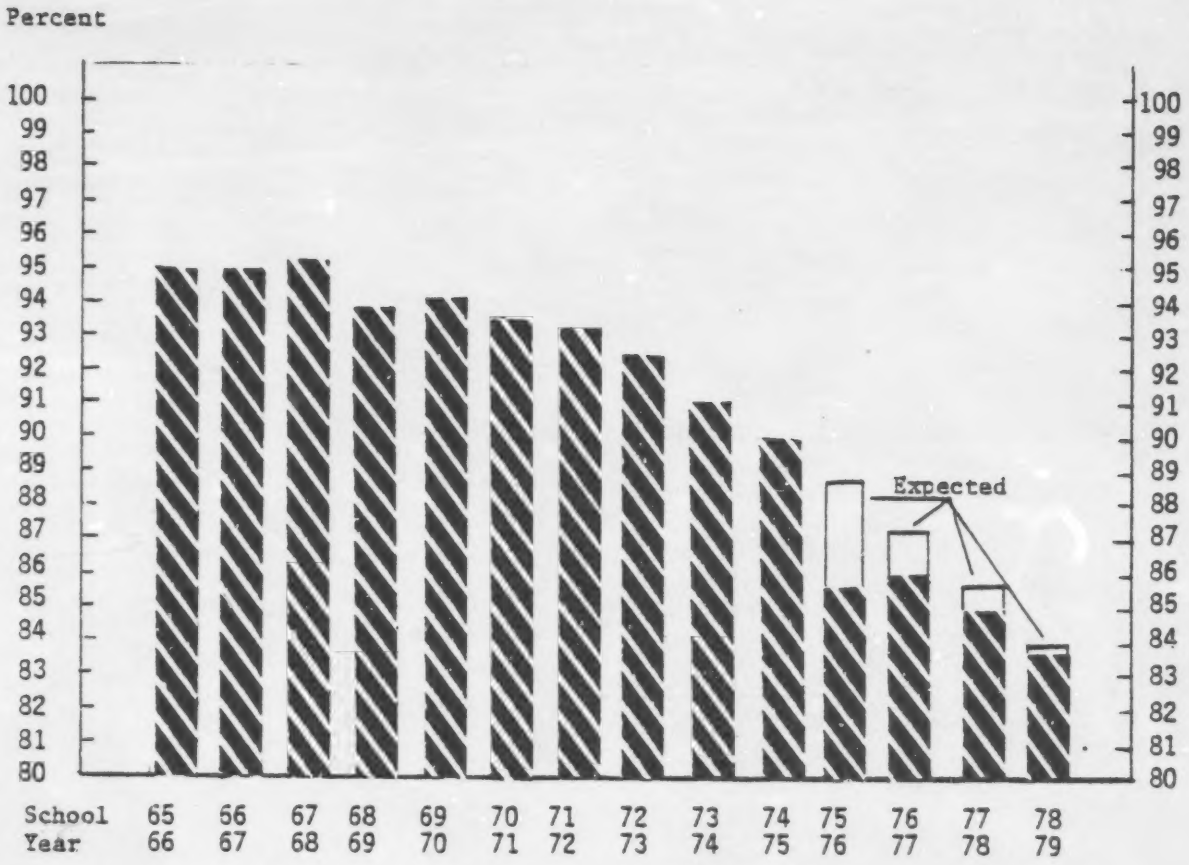

Figure 5: Jefferson County total white enrollment as a percentage of aggregate births 1965-66 - 1978-79

segregation in 1975. Total white enrollment as a percentage of aggregate births, was approximately 95 percent in the school years 1965-66, 1966-67, and 1967-68. From that point, the percentage began to decline at a slowly accelerating rate until 1975-76, the first year of desegregation, when there was a percipitous drop.

Using the percentage of aggregate births which could have been expected had there been no desegregation plan (see Figure 5), as well as the actual percentages of total white enrollment, the difference between the two is presented in Table VI.

TABLE VI
Comparison of Actual with
Expected Total White Enrollment

School Year	Aggregate Births	Expected TWE	%	Actual TWE	%	Difference	%
75-76	142,594	126,645	88.81	122,410	85.84	-4,235	-2.97
76-77	139,816	122,150	87.36	120,193	85.96	-1,957	-1.40
77-78	136,706	117,239	85.76	116,132	84.95	-1,107	- .81
78-79	132,172	111,038	84.01	110,808	83.84	- 230	- .17

The public school enrollment for 1975-76 was artificially depressed as explained earlier in this chapter (see page 57). Therefore, the difference shown for the school year 1975-76, is probably inflated by about 2,500 to 3,000 students.

Total public school enrollment figures for the eight counties, three in southern Indiana, and five in Kentucky, contiguous with Jefferson County are presented in Figure 6. County by county data and a map the area are included in Appendix J. The enrollment gain in the eight contiguous counties was 3,887 from 1974-75 to 1978-79. The gain in enrollment accelerated in 1975, coincident with the first year of desegregation, and continued through 1977-78. Enrollment stabilized in 1978-79, showing an increase of only three students. These data tend to validate the trends information concerning expected and actual total white membership in Jefferson County presented earlier.

An analysis of the relationship between school enrollment and birth data made it possible to estimate losses of white students attributable to accelerated out-migration. Other sources confirm the existence of a pattern of out-migration which was causing the school age population in Jefferson County to decline.

Brockway (1977) prepared net migration estimates for Jefferson County for

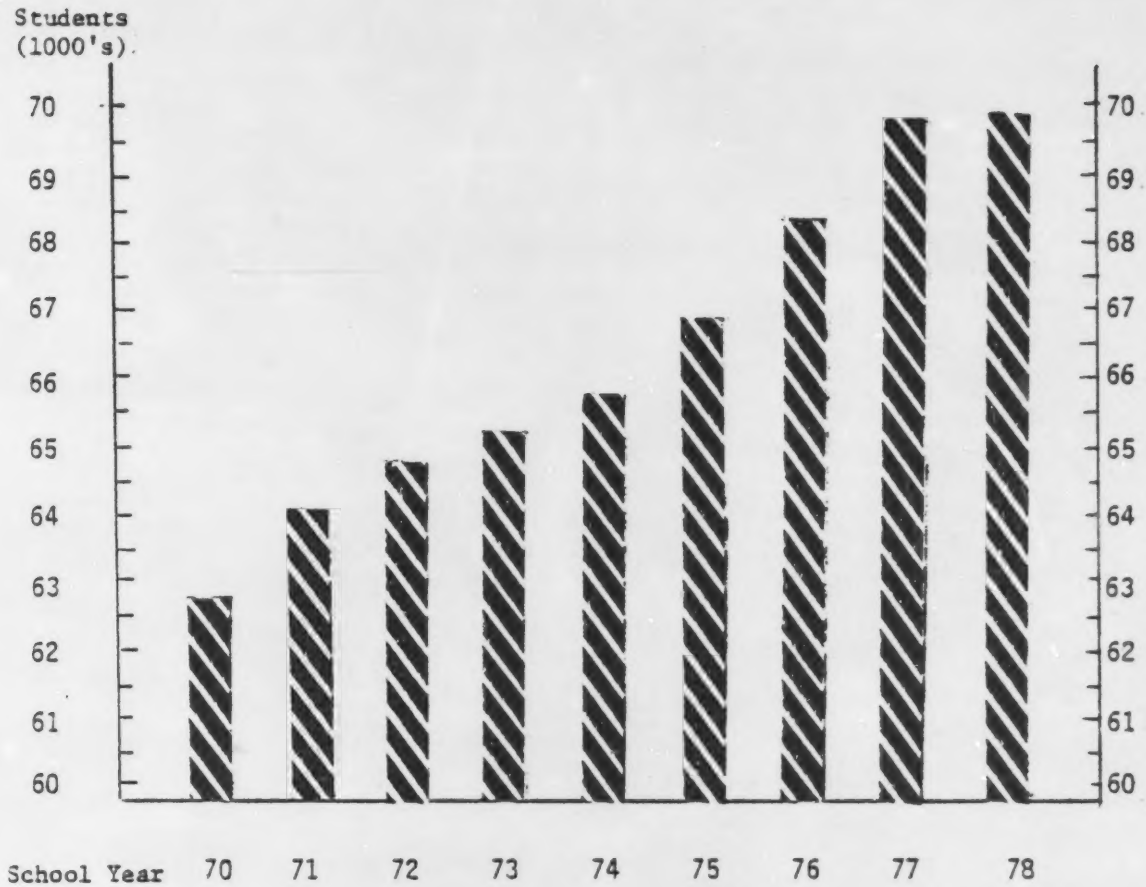

Figure 6. Public school enrollment Grades 1 - 12; eight counties contiguous to Jefferson County, Kentucky

1960 through 1975. The estimates show (see Appendix A) that the net effect of in and out-migration was impacting negatively on the number of school age children residing in Jefferson County. Of course, the rising birthrate caused the actual number of school-age children to increase until 1969 (see Figure 4). After 1970, the declining birthrate and the continuation of net migration losses combined to bring about a decline in the school-age population.

Bureau of the Census reports estimate that Jefferson County's population rose from 695,055 in 1970 to 703,400 in 1973, but fell to 691,700 in 1976 (U.S. Census Bureau). More significant for this study is the estimate that the under

age 18 population fell from 247,297 in 1970, to 216,040 in 1975 (see Appendix B).

The trends data suggest that relatively few families left the county as a reaction to desegregation. There was an accelerated loss of white students during 1975, 1976 and 1977; however, by 1978, the total white enrollment in Jefferson County, public and non-public combined, was approximately what it would have been had there been no desegregation event. This means that the dramatic loss of white enrollment in the public schools, 33,549 students between 1973 and 1978, is explained by transfers to non-public schools, a declining birthrate, and an on-going pattern of out-migration.

When attempts were made to locate the families of students whose transcripts had been sent to other school districts, many could not be located and there were indications that some continued to reside in Jefferson County. Therefore, estimates of the accelerated rate of out-migration which occurred from 1975 through 1977 may be overstated.

School Specific Data

Throughout the three years of the study, enrollment data was collected for both individual schools and the system as a whole. In the fall of 1975, enrollment data was collected as of October 15 for individual schools and as of November 30 for the system as a whole. On October 15, white enrollment was 87,145 and Black enrollment was 25,490. These figures are considerably lower than those collected at the end of November which showed a white student enrollment of 92,081 and 26,424 for Black students. This was caused by the fact that during the first year of desegregation, resistance to the desegregation plan manifested by the withholding of students from school and concern for the safety of children was greatest. As each week passed, more students were enrolled. The second factor which may have caused the discrepancy concerns the record-keeping procedures used in Jefferson County. Data received from different

sources within the school system for the same sets of schools are often inconsistent. The merger of the two school systems required the merger of student data files and for a system as large as Jefferson County, this was an enormous and complex process. Data collection problems were particularly noticeable during the first year of desegregation in 1975.

Change in white student enrollment Geographical location was based on the categories used by local real estate sales companies. The intention was not to divide the county into equal geographical section but rather to divide the county according to approximate socio-economic/cultural divisions based on the traditional divisions made by those who live in Jefferson County. The East is considered to be wealthier, upper middle class and white; the South blue-collar, lower middle class white; and the West is the section of the county that is mostly Black. There is no category for the northern part of the county because it is blocked by the Ohio River. There has been the general belief in the county, that the form of the response to busing was related to the geographic area. Certainly the greatest amount of publicized protest in opposition to busing occurred in the southern part of the county.

TABLE VII

Changes in White Enrollment by Type of School
and Geographical Location
from October 1975 to October 1978

		Elementary School	Jr. High Middle School	High School	Total
South	S	497	-1,268	-4,544	-5,315
	M	99	-158	-325	-74
	SD	110	133	194	188
	N	50	8	14	72
East	S	-1,414	-467	-1,780	-3,661
	M	-50	-67	-296	-89
	SD	90	148	342	176
	N	28	7	6	41
West	S	-779	-521	1,638	338
	M	-41	-86	327	11
	SD	95	155	297	207
	N	19	6	5	30
Total	S	-1,696	-2,256	-4,686	-8,638
	M	-17	-107	-187	-60
	SD	105	143	359	191
	N	97	21	25	143

Notes: 1) S - Sum or net change
2) M - Mean
3) SD - Standard deviations
4) N - Number of schools

As can be seen in Table VII, white enrollment has declined in every area but the western part of the county. The increase in white enrollment in that part of the city took place exclusively in high schools. This may have been the result of white students volunteering to be bused to formerly Black schools, and the fact that enrollment figures were depressed in the fall of 1975, because parents hesitated to send their children to school during the first month of the implementation of school desegregation.

TABLE VIII

Changes in White Enrollment by Type of School
and Former Status
from October 1975 to October 1978

Former Status		Elementary School	Jr. High Middle School	High School	Total
White	S	-959	-924	-6,148	-7,562
	M	-14	-92	-342	80
	SD	90	162	203	178
	N	70	10	18	95
Black	S	-458	-672	1,744	1,297
	M	-26	-224	349	54
	SD	92	37	287	210
	N	17	3	5	24
Deseg	S	-279	-660	-282	-2,373
	M	-28	-82	-141	-99
	SD	201	132	445	189
	N	10	8	2	24
Total	S	-1,696	-2,256	-4,686	-8,638
	M	-17	-107	-187	-60
	SD	105	143	359	191
	N	97	21	25	143

Table VIII further supports the findings reported in Table VII. White student enrollment, in general, declined except in formerly Black high schools. While there were five high schools listed as both formerly Black and as being in the western section of the county, they were not the same five schools. One formerly Black school was defined as eastern and one western high school was defined as formerly desegregated.

Referring again to Table VII, elementary schools in the south part also showed a slight gain between 1975 and 1978. This was possibly the result of depressed enrollment in these schools in the fall of 1975. Parents, particularly in south Jefferson County, kept their children out of school during that fall because they opposed the desegregation plan and feared for their children's safety.

TABLE IX

Changes in White Enrollment by Type of School
and Exempt Status
from October 1975 to October 1978

Type of School		Exempt	Non-Exempt	Total
Elementary	S	1	-1,697	-1,696
	M	0	-21	-17
	SD	174	86	105
	N	16	81	97
Jr. High/ Middle	S	-700	-1,556	-2,256
	M	-100	-111	-107
	SD	169	135	143
	N	7	14	21
High School	S	-1,329	-3,357	-4,686
	M	-166	-197	-187
	SD	319	385	359
	N	8	17	25
Total	S	-2,028	-6,610	-8,638
	M	-65	-59	-60
	SD	223	183	191
	N	31	112	143

Table IX indicates that white enrollment declined at about the same rate for both exempt and non-exempt junior high/middle and high schools. In elementary schools, there was no decline.

TABLE X

Factors Affecting White Enrollment Decline

Variable	R	R^2
Geographical Location	.19	.04
Former Status	.28	.07
Type of School	.44	.19
Whether School is Exempt	.44	.19
Former Status by Type of School Interaction	.71	.50

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An individual examination of each of the previously mentioned factors conducted by comparing net change among groups of schools is unsatisfactory because variability and intercorrelation among variables are not taken into consideration. In order to account for these two factors, a multiple regression analysis was computed. The results are presented in Table X. The path analysis shown in Figure 7 presents a more graphic description of the data presented in Table X. Geographic location, former status, type of school all are related to change in white enrollment from 1975 to 1978, but the strongest relationship was with the former status by type of school interaction. This interaction resulted from the increase in white enrollment in formerly Black high schools in contrast to all other schools where white enrollment declined. Whether or not a school was exempt did not emerge as an important factor.

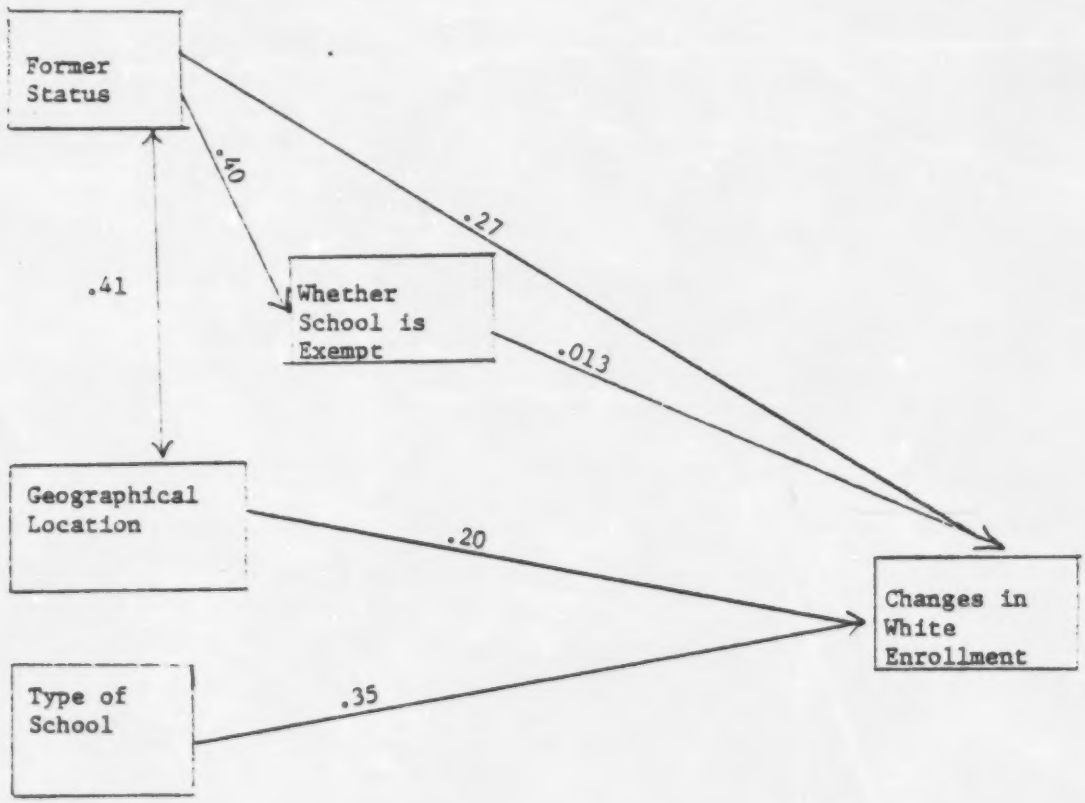

Figure 7. Path diagram of factors affecting white student enrollment.

The results of the analysis of the effects of distance bused are not included. Using the school as the unit of analysis, it is not possible to accurately measure this factor. For each formerly Black school to which white students are bused, there are several cluster schools. The distance a white child is bused to a particular school varies depending on how close the home school is to the bused school and how far the child must be bused to get to the school. Therefore, to study distance bused, it would be necessary to examine how far each individual child is bused rather than distances between schools.

Changes in Black student enrollment An examination of Table XI indicates a decline in Black enrollment in formerly Black and an increase in formerly white schools. The decline in Black enrollment in formerly Black schools occurred across all types of schools. In the case of formerly desegregated schools, however, the decline was mainly in junior high and middle schools. Black enrollment in formerly white schools increased across all types of schools.

TABLE XI

Changes in Black Enrollment by Type of School
and Former Status
from October 1975 to October 1978

Former Status		Elementary School	Jr. High Middle School	High School	Total
White	S	2,505	17	335	2,843
	M	36	17	19	30
	SD	28	44	84	46
	N	70	10	18	95
Black	S	-624	-203	-334	-972
	M	-37	-68	-67	-41
	SD	123	8	131	125
	N	17	3	5	24
Deseg	S	189	-194	109	-71
	M	19	-25	55	-39
	SD	48	41	18	52
	N	10	8	2	24
Total	S	2,070	-380	110	1,800
	M	21	-18	4	13
	SD	67	45	96	71
	N	97	21	25	143

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The increase in Black enrollment in high schools occurred mainly in schools in the southern part of the county as did most of the increase in elementary school enrollment. The overall increase in Black enrollment occurred mainly in elementary schools with middle and junior high schools showing a decline while high schools showed only a slight increase (see Table XII).

TABLE XII

Changes in Black Enrollment by Type of School and Geographical Location from October 1975 to October 1978

		Elementary School	Jr. High Middle School	High School	Total
South	S	2,367	-150	352	2,569
	M	47	-19	25	36
	SD	39	32	95	57
	N	50	8	14	72
East	S	775	52	-94	733
	M	28	7	-16	18
	SD	25	56	68	42
	N	28	7	6	41
West	S	-1,072	-282	-148	-1,502
	M	-56	-47	-29	-50
	SD	102	34	130	96
	N	19	6	5	30
Total	S	2,070	-380	110	1,800
	M	21	-18	4	13
	SD	67	45	96	71
	N	97	21	25	143

Whether an elementary school was exempt had no effect on Black student enrollment. In high school the exempt status of a school had a large effect with exempt high schools showing a large increase and non-exempt schools showing a decline (see Table XIII).

TABLE XIII

Changes in Black Enrollment by Type of School and Exempt Status from October 1975 to October 1978

Type of School		Exempt	Non-Exempt	Total
Elementary	S	283	1,787	2,070
	M	18	27	21
	SD	44	71	67
	N	16	81	97
Jr. High/ Middle	S	-200	-180	-380
	M	-29	13	-18
	SD	34	50	45
	N	7	14	21
High School	S	542	-432	110
	M	68	-25	4
	SD	100	81	96
	N	8	17	25
Total	S	625	1,175	1,800
	M	20	10	13
	SD	68	72	71
	N	31	112	143

Multiple correlation analysis was then used to determine how the factors were related to Black student enrollment when all factors were considered simultaneously. Using this approach, shared variance accrues to the variables placed into the regression equation first. Table XIV shows that the major factor affecting Black student enrollment is geographical location.

TABLE XIV

Factors Affecting Black Student Enrollment

Variable	R	R^2
Geographic Location	.47	.22
Former Status	.47	.22
Type of School	.50	.25
Whether School is Exempt	.52	.27
Former Status by Type of School Interaction	.54	.29

The path analysis in Figure 8 provides a more graphic description of the relationship between the factors. If former status were placed into the equation first, it would be the most important because of shared variance. Simply stated, Blacks are enrolling in formerly white schools and leaving formerly Black schools. In individual analyses, other factors were shown to be important; however, the variances they explain appears to be subservient to the former status/geographical location variables. Exempt versus non-exempt status, therefore, reflects variances explained as a result of school location and status rather than the unique effect of exemption from the desegregation order.

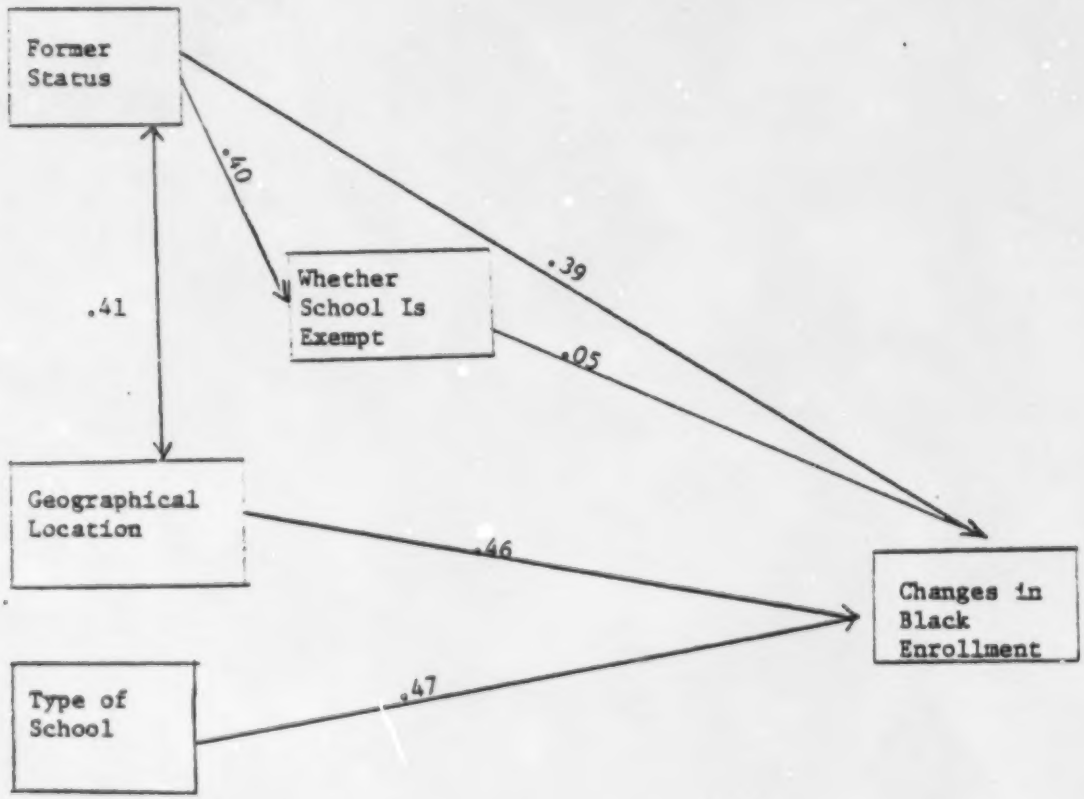

Figure 8. Path diagram of factors affecting Black student enrollment.

Survey Data

Seven sets of interviews were conducted with three groups of parents: those who moved out of the county, those who moved within the county and those whose children were transferred to non-public school. Table XV shows the groups, sub-groups, and sample sizes.

TABLE XV

Sample Sizes for Interviews Conducted

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Moved Out of County	25	27	
Non-Public Transfers			
Catholic		18	42
Other Non-Public		22	
Mainstream			23
Church-Related			28
Church-Related, Returned to Public			10
Moved Within County			
White		11	
Black		55	32
Into County Moves			8
Did Not Move			34

Within county moves were identified by locating white students residing in a predominantly Black school attendance area, and Black students residing in a predominantly white school attendance area. However, in many cases, the family had not moved since desegregation, and in some cases, they had moved into the county. Parents in the latter two categories were interviewed during the third year of the study.

Parents who left the county years 1 and 2 During the first year of the study, 25 subjects who had moved out of Jefferson County were contacted and interviewed concerning the reasons for their moves (see Appendix E). Twelve of those inter-

viewed stated that their reason for moving was not associated with desegregation and busing. Ten indicated that desegregation and busing had prompted their move, and three respondents stated that the desegregation events were a factor but not the only factor in their decision to move.

During the second year of the study, parents who had moved out of the county were asked, "What was the one most important reason why you decided to move?" Thirty-seven percent responded by citing desegregation/busing (see Figure 9). Fifty-five percent stated that they had not planned to move before desegregation.

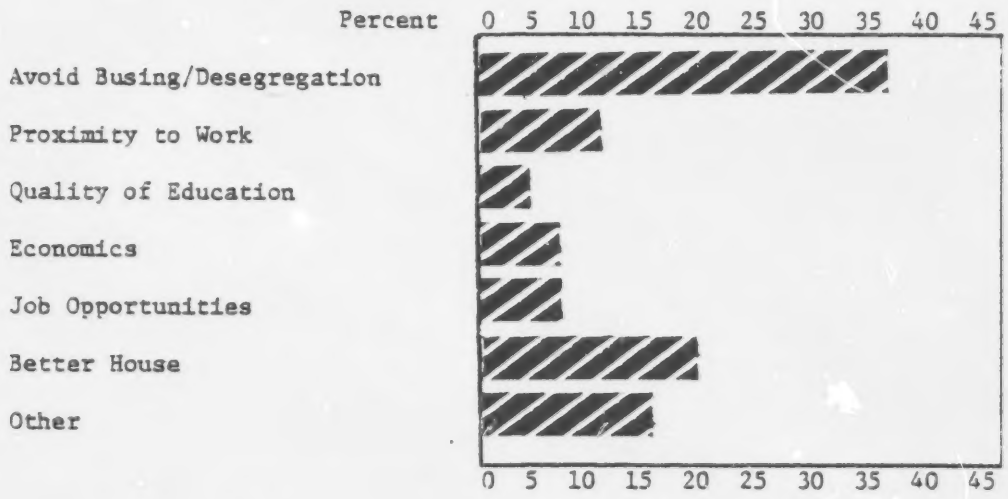

Figure 9. Reasons for decision to move outside Jefferson County.

These survey results are consistent with the trends data analysis which showed that a continuing pattern of out-migration was accelerated during the first years of desegregation.

Parents were asked if the fact that their child would be attending classes with children of a different race in Jefferson County was a factor in their decision to move. Ninety-six percent replied that it was not. In fact, 70 percent of the respondents felt that Blacks and whites should go to school together

in a racial proportion representative of the community. Over half favored "full racial integration" when given the choice among "full racial integration," "integration in some areas of life" or "separation of the races." Eighty-one percent stated that having both Blacks and whites in the Jefferson County Public Schools had no influence on their decision to move outside the county.

When questioned concerning their perceptions of the general quality of education in the Louisville-Jefferson County Schools, 37 percent stated it was satisfactory; 59 percent found it to be unsatisfactory. Almost two-thirds of the respondents felt that since court-ordered desegregation, the quality of education for white students had worsened. The other third felt the quality of education for white students had remained the same.

Concerning the busing issue, 63 percent of the parents surveyed stated that the busing plan had at least some influence on their decision to move. When asked to what extent they favored or opposed busing as it had been put into effect locally, 78 percent were opposed, and 22 percent favored busing. Of those opposed, nearly half were opposed to busing in all cases; the other half could forsee some type of busing program which might be acceptable. Thirty percent of the respondents stated their child would have been bused that year if they had not moved. All of the respondents stated that their children were attending public schools and 85 percent said that their children rode a bus to school.

This sample population displayed stronger negative feelings in terms of the busing issue than they did to desegregation; however, overall they were less opposed to busing than the sample surveyed by the Junior League of Louisville in 1977. They expressed dissatisfaction over the quality of education in the Jefferson County Public Schools, but not to the extent that the parents of non-public school students did. The reason most often cited for the decision to move

out of the Jefferson County School District was to avoid the busing/desegregation plan.

Comparison between parents leaving the county year 2 and those transferring their children to non-public schools year 2 Parents who transferred their children to non-public schools were slightly more affluent than parents who moved out of the county. Forty-two percent of the non-public parents reported incomes in the $15,000 - $25,000 income range, whereas 33 percent of those who moved reported incomes in that range. Both groups were characterized by higher income levels than the typical Jefferson County resident.

Fathers of children who were transferred to non-public schools were better educated with 54 percent having at least attempted college; 33 percent of those fathers making residential changes out of the county had attempted college. The norm for Jefferson County was 31 percent (Urban Studies, 1978). The wives in both groups were less educated than were the husbands.

The fathers of children who were transferred to non-public schools were nearly equally divided between professional, 38 percent, and skilled, 36 percent. Those who moved out of the county were predominantly skilled, 54 percent, with only 18 percent being professional. About half of the mothers in both groups were housewives with the rest divided among skilled, unskilled and clerical.

The parents of children who were transferred to non-public schools tended to be younger than those parents who moved out of the county. Sixty-four percent of parents whose children transferred to non-public schools were between the ages of 25 and 30. Only 15 percent of the second group, those parents who moved out of the county, were in that age range. On the other hand, the percentages are reversed regarding parents in the 31-40 age range. Fifteen percent of the parents in that age range transferred their children to non-public schools while 74 percent moved out of the county.

In general, parents of children who were transferred to non-public schools were younger, better educated, and more likely to be professionals than those who left the county. Parents of children who were transferred to non-public schools reported slightly higher incomes than those who left the county. The income discrepancy would have been even greater if the results had been adjusted for age.

Few parents of children who had been transferred to non-public school or who had moved out of the county favored full separation of the races, but they differed in terms of whether they support "full" or "some" integration. Twenty-eight percent of the parents with children in non-public schools favored "full" integration while 52 percent favored "some" integration. Among those who had moved out of the county 52 percent favored "full" and 33 percent favored "some". Ninety-two percent of those parents who had their children transferred to non-public schools opposed busing as compared with 78 percent of those who changed residences. Among those who opposed busing, about the same percents, 52 and 58 percent, could forsee circumstances in which such an approach might be acceptable.

Parents of children who transferred to non-public schools were highly critical of the quality of education in Jefferson County. None of these parents found it very satisfactory and only 12 percent of the parents found it satisfactory. Thirty-four percent found it unsatisfactory and 46 percent found it very unsatisfactory. When these results are compared to those of Survey #11 conducted by the Urban Studies Center (1978) of the University of Louisville, it was found that the responses of the parents who had left Jefferson County were similar to the norm while those who had their children transferred to non-public schools were more critical of the school system.

Eighty percent of those parents who transferred their children to non-public schools perceived that the quality of education for white students in Jefferson County Public Schools had deteriorated since the implementation of the desegregation plan. None of the non-public parents felt the educational quality had improved, and only eight percent believed that it stayed the same. Of the parents who had moved out of Jefferson County, 63 percent said the educational quality in Jefferson County Public Schools had become worse; 30 percent felt it stayed the same, and none of the parents believed it had improved.

Seventy-four percent of the parents of children who had been transferred to non-public schools believed that their children's new school was better than the one in which they had been previously enrolled. Forty-eight percent of those parents who had moved out of the county said that their children's new school was better than the old, but 26 percent rated it about the same.

Within county moves by Black students years 2 and 3 The parents interviewed were living in the county rather than the city, and their children were attending formerly white schools which eliminated the need for them to be bused. The interviews conducted in the second year of the study, 1977-78, included only those parents who had moved within the county. However, in the third year of the study, two additional groups were interviewed: Black parents who had moved into Jefferson County, and Black parents who had lived there for the past five years. Black parents who had moved into Jefferson County from other areas were better educated, more likely to be professionals and to have a higher annual income than the parents of either of the other two groups.

In the second year of the study, a large proportion of males were skilled but relatively few were professionals. In the third year of the study, the number of professionals increased while the number of those who were skilled decreased. For females, there was also a shift with more housewives and somewhat fewer professionals in the third year.

Although the sampling procedures were identical, the samples obtained were quite different for the two years. This was particularly apparent when the parents were asked to name the most important reason for their decision to move. In 1978, 52 percent stated that it was to improve their housing, a category which included obtaining more space, "moving up" to nicer accommodations, purchasing a first home from an apartment, etc. Eighteen percent gave reasons of improved or safer neighborhood (see Table XVI).

TABLE XVI

What was the one most important reason for your move?

	1978		1979	
Response	1A f	(N=33) %	2A f	(N=32) %
Avoidance of busing	0	0.0	1	3.1
Deseg. environment	1	3.0	0	0.0
Proximity to work	1	3.0	0	0.0
Better school	1	3.0	0	0.0
Better house	17	51.5	6	18.8
Housing Assist.	0	0.0	1	3.1
Better neighborhood	6	18.2	1	3.1
Family personal reasons	7	21.2	22	68.8
NA	0	0.0	1	3.1

The family personal reasons category included respondents who moved because they were no longer able to reside with their family, marital problems or other personal reasons. In 1979, however, only 19 percent of the respondents reported that their decision to move resulted from a decision for better housing, and only three percent stated that a better neighborhood was the reason for their

moves. Seventy-one percent of those surveyed in 1979, listed reasons categorized as family, personal reasons.

In the 1978 survey, no respondents stated that their family moved in order to decrease the number of years his/her child would be bused even though 33 percent stated that had they not moved, their children would have been bused 7-10 years. In 1979, only one respondent listed busing as the main reason for moving, and ten percent of these respondents stated that before moving, their children would have been bused 7-10 years. Despite the fact that none of the children of parents interviewed would be bused for purposes of desegregation, 27 percent of the sample population in 1978, and 34 percent of the respondents in the 1979 survey, believed that their children would be bused (Table XVII). When asked if they had planned to move prior to the implementation of the court-ordered desegregation plan in 1978, 79 percent responded affirmatively as did 50 percent in 1979.

TABLE XVII

How many years will your child be bused now that you have moved?

	1978		1979	
Response	1A f	(N=33) %	2A f	(N=32) %
None	24	72.7	20	62.5
1-2	0	0.0	0	0.0
3-4	1	3.0	1	3.1
5-6	2	6.1	1	3.1
7-8	1	3.0	0	0.0
9-10	1	3.0	0	0.0
Unsure	4	12.1	9	28.1
NR			1	3.1

Thirty percent of Black parents interviewed in 1978, and 25 percent in 1979, were opposed to busing. Of these groups, 80 percent in 1978, and 89 percent in 1979, could forsee a busing situation which might be acceptable for achieving desegregation. When asked to what extent the busing plan influenced their decision to move, 88 percent of the 1978 respondents and 94 percent of those in the 1979 survey replied that it had no influence at all. Twelve percent in 1978, and six percent in 1979, stated that it had some influence on their decision to move (see Table XVIII).

TABLE XVIII

To what extent did the busing plan influence your decision to move?

	1978		1979	
Response	1A f	(N=33) %	2A f	(N=32) %
Strongly influence	1	3.0	0	0.0
Somewhat influence	3	9.1	2	6.3
No influence at all	29	87.9	29	90.6
NR	0	0	1	3.1

Both groups expressed favorable attitudes toward desegregation. Seventy-nine percent of the 1978 respondents and 85 percent of those interviewed in 1979, favored full integration. Furthermore, 85 percent in 1978, and 87 percent in 1979, favored a balance of Black and white students in school representative of the Black/white proportion in the community. As with the question on busing, when asked to what extent desegregated classes influenced their decision to move, 91 percent of the 1978 interview respondents and 94 percent of those interviewed in 1979, replied that it had no influence at all. Prior to their move, 18 percent of the 1978 respondents and 30 percent of the 1979 respondents lived in

neighborhoods perceived to have less than 28 percent Black. After the move, 67 percent in 1978, and 72 percent in 1979, lived in neighborhoods where the Black population was perceived to be 30 percent or less.

TABLE XIX

What was the percentage of Blacks in your former neighborhood?

	1978		1979	
Response	1A f	(N=33) %	2A f	(N=32) %
0-10%	3	9.1	5	15.6
11-20%	1	3.0	3	9.4
21-30%	2	6.1	1	3.1
31-40%	1	3.0	0	0.0
41-50%	3	9.1	0	0.0
51% & above	20	60.6	20	62.5
Unsure	0	0.0	1	3.1
NR	3	9.1	2	6.3

Black parents seemed quite satisfied with the quality of education in the Jefferson County Public Schools. Sixty-one percent of those interviewed in 1978, and 69 percent of those in 1979, felt it was satisfactory. Only 36 percent in 1978, and 31 percent in 1979, felt otherwise. Since the implementation of the desegregation plan, these parents, in general, felt that the quality of education for white students remained the same. Sixty-one percent in 1978, and 59 percent of the respondents in 1979, felt the quality of education generally remained the same although 25 percent of the sample in 1978, and 19 percent in 1979, said they didn't really know. For Black students, 46 percent of those interviewed in 1978, and 50 percent of those in 1979, felt that educational

quality had improved. Thirty percent of the 1978 group and 22 percent of the 1979 group felt that it remained the same while 12 percent in 1978, and 19 percent in 1979, said it had become worse. There was not a large percentage of the respondents who felt that their child's present school was better than the school previously attended which would suggest no tendency to move for purposes of finding a "better" school.

Both respondents from 1978, and those from 1979, were divided into two categories based on total annual income: respondents whose income was above $20,000 and respondents whose income was below $10,000. Both groups felt that the quality of education had remained the same for white students, but the group of 1979 parents with total incomes of $10,000 or lower, felt less positive towards the quality of education for Blacks than did the other three groups.

These data may reflect the level to which the children of these parents are achieving academically. Those from the lower socio-economic families may not be succeeding as well as those in the upper income bracket, and this fact may tend to influence parents in their perception of the quality of education.

Only six percent of the interview respondents in 1978, and 16 percent of those in 1979, stated they were using housing assistance. Eighteen percent in 1978 and three percent in 1979, mentioned that the availability of financial housing assistance had at least some influence on their decision to move.

Non-public school interviews years 2 and 3 The results of interviews with parents whose children were transferred to non-public schools for both year 2 and 3 are in Appendix K. Parents of children who transferred to non-public schools for the 1976-77 school year, year 2, were divided into two categories: Catholic and non-Catholic. In year 3, 1977-78 school year, there were four categories: 1) Catholics, 2) mainstream private, 3) private church-related and 4) private church-related parents whose child had returned to public school.

The following section of the chapter which covers the ways that the groups are the same, is followed by a description of the ways that each group differs. The numbers in parentheses refer to the questions on the interview schedule, the results of which can be found in Appendix K.

1) True of all groups

Nearly all of those interviewed were parents of families with 1-4 children, 1-3 of whom are of school age (Questions 2 & 3). In every group, respondents felt that since desegregation, the quality of education for whites had declined (Question 9). It was generally felt that the quality of education provided by the Jefferson County Schools is unsatisfactory, and respondents reported that they considered the education provided by the non-public schools to be at least somewhat better (Questions 8 & 20). Parents in every group stated that the fact that their child would be attending classes with children of a different race did not influence their decision to enroll him/her in a non-public school, but the vast majority of these same respondents did not have children in private schools prior to the fall of 1975 (Question 11 & 19). Although most individuals interviewed had either one or two children who were scheduled to be bused sometime during their school years, the vast majority of these children had never been bused for desegregation purposes (Questions 10 & 17). Since the interviews were generally conducted during the day, the majority of respondents were female, and of these female respondents, the majority were housewives (Questions 26 & 23).

2) Catholic Schools, 1a, 2a

As would be expected, the majority of respondents with children in Catholic schools are themselves Catholic (Question 25). Eighty percent of those interviewed in 1978, had children enrolled in Catholic schools, and 74 percent of the 1979 respondents reported to be Catholic. This is in contrast to all other groups where the majority are Protestants. The parents whose children are enrolled in

Catholic schools tend to be less opposed to busing than any other group except mainstream private (Question 6). Only 45 percent of the 1978 Catholic school respondents and 56 percent of those interviewed in 1979, reported that they were strongly opposed to busing. In contrast, 73 percent of the parents whose children were enrolled in private schools in 1978 reported opposing busing strongly. Seventh-eight percent of the 1979 private church-related respondents, and 70 percent of the individuals who comprised the private church-related groups who returned their children to public schools also reported opposing busing strongly. In the mainstream private group, 52 percent of the parents were strongly opposed to busing, but 17 percent of these parents were unsure of exactly how they felt.

The parents whose children were enrolled in Catholic schools were more likely to have had them enrolled in non-public schools prior to 1975, than were the parents who comprised any other single group (Question 11). Fifty percent of the 1978 Catholic school respondents and 68 percent of those interviewed in 1979, reported to having considered enrolling their children in non-public schools prior to court-ordered desegregation. Fifty-seven percent of the 1978 private school respondent group, and 57 percent of the 1979's mainstream private school parents responded likewise. Only 28 percent of the parents whose children were enrolled in private church-related schools, and none of the respondents who returned their children to public schools from private church-related schools, considered the transfer prior to 1975.

3) Mainstream Private School 2B

An examination of results of the interviews with parents who comprised the mainstream private school group, showed that these individuals came from a higher social class than the other respondents. Both males and females in this particular group were better educated than those in any of the others, and the

group contained more men with professional occupations than in any of the other groups (Questions 23 & 24). In this particular group of parents, 48 percent of the males had completed college, and 39 percent had at least some graduate school education. The next most highly educated group of fathers was in the group of parents who had children in private schools in 1978. Ten percent of these parents had completed college, and 21 percent had some graduate education. The least well-educated group was the one that included fathers whose children attended private church-related schools. Only one parent, or ten percent of the respondents had received more than a high school education. The mothers of children attending mainstream private schools were also better educated than those of any other group with 96 percent of the interviewed subjects having obtained at least some higher education.

Ninety-one percent of the male parents in this group of respondents had professional occupations. The next largest group of professionals came from respondents whose children were enrolled in Catholic schools during the 1977-78 school year, with 42 percent occupying professional positions.

The group of mainstream private school parents were generally a little older with 61 percent over the age of 41. They also reported larger annual incomes than any of the other respondents (Questions 26 & 28). An incredibly high 44 percent of these families had average annual incomes of over $50,000. None of the other groups of respondents had incomes nearly this high.

Respondents in this group seemed to view integration much more favorably than any of the other groups of parents (Question 4). Seventy-four percent favor full racial integration over a choice between some integration or separation of the races. The group of 1979 Catholic respondents responded the most closely to this mainstream private group. Forty-one percent were in favor of full racial integration. Those parents whose children were enrolled in private church-related

schools had the least favorable attitude towards integration with 19 percent favoring separation of the races.

4) Private Church-Related 2C

An examination of the responses of parents who comprised the private church-related group, the group who transferred their children from public to private church-related schools in 1977, revealed that they were more strongly opposed to desegregation than any of the other groups. These parents were strongly opposed to busing in all cases, and stated that they could not forsee any situation in which it would be acceptable (Questions 6 & 7). One hundred percent of these parents were, at least, somewhat opposed to busing and 79 percent were strongly opposed. Sixty-one percent of the private church-related school parents claimed to be opposed to busing in all cases while only 36 percent stated that they could foresee a situation in which it would be acceptable. The vast majority of respondents in almost all of the other groups reported that they could foresee a situation in which a busing program might be acceptable to them.

Parents who sent children to private church-related schools stated that they had not considered enrolling these children in non-public schools prior to the implementation of court-ordered desegregation (Question 15). Seventy-one percent of the group had not considered this change while only 29 percent claimed that they had. Respondents in this particular group were the only parents who did not list the "quality of education" as being the main reason for transferring their child to non-public schools -- thirty-two percent of these parents listed the "bus ride" as their main reason for the change (Question 19). The "quality of education" was the next most important reason with 29 percent of the respondents listed in this category.

Although these respondents listed the "bus ride" as being the most important reason behind their change to private school, they are one of the only groups of

parents in which the majority have children riding the bus to their present schools (Question 20). The group of parents whose children had returned to public school from private church-related schools also had more children, seventy percent, riding buses to their present schools than children who were not, thirty percent. Most of these parents comprising the group whose children attended private church-related schools responded that their children would have been bused the previous year if they had remained in public schools (Question 18). Sixty-one percent of the group responded affirmatively to this question, while only 39 percent had children who would not have been bused if they had remained in public schools.

5) Private Church-Related: Returned to Public School

None of the respondents whose children had been transferred back to public schools from the private church-related had moved within the last six years, and the majority of this group had not moved in the last ten years (Question 1). Seventy percent of the male parents comprising this group were skilled workers, while the females were, for the most part, housewives (Question 24). This group of parents was the only one that did not agree that it was a good idea for Blacks and whites to go to school together. In fact, a large number, forty percent, considered it to be a bad idea. Not only was the majority of this group strongly opposed to busing, but unlike other groups, were generally opposed to busing in all cases and could not foresee any situation in which it might be acceptable to them (Questions 6 & 7). Parents comprising this particular group were not as concerned with the quality of education provided by the public schools as they were with having their child bused (Question 19). Sixty percent of the respondents in this group listed the "bus ride" as being the most important reason for enrolling their child/children in non-public schools while only 30 percent

listed the "quality of education" as the main reason for the transfer. Interestingly, the schools these children had attended were segregated, but they still had to ride a bus to get to school (Question 13b & 20). Seventy percent of the parents interviewed in this particular group admitted that their child/children were riding buses to their present schools, and only 30 percent of the parents had children who were not.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of court-ordered desegregation on student enrollment and residential patterns in the Jefferson County Public School District. Enrollment changes over the years since the desegregation plan was implemented were studied along with trends in enrollment over the past ten years, birthrates, migration patterns, non-public school enrollment, and residential changes within the county. Parents who had moved or transferred their children to non-public schools were interviewed. Four questions were stated in Chapter I and used to guide the conduct of the study. The questions are restated here to provide an outline for the presentation of the conclusions.

Question 1. Has there been a decline in white public school enrollment that can be associated with the implementation of the desegregation plan?

a. Are white students enrolling in non-public schools within Jefferson County to avoid participation in the desegregation plan?

b. Are white families moving their residences outside of Jefferson County to avoid participation in the desegregation plan?

White public school enrollment in Jefferson County has decreased dramatically since the 1973-74 school year when it became apparent that a desegregation plan would be ordered. The 1973-74 white enrollment was 111,131. By the 1978-79 school year the enrollment had dropped to 77,582, a decline of 33,549. This has led to the general belief that massive white flight has taken place. While this decline took place at the same time as the implementation of the desegregation plan, it is incorrect to assume that all of the decline was caused by the desegregation order. The biggest part of the decline can be explained by increases in non-

public school enrollment, a continuing pattern of out-migration and declining birthrate.

There was an increase of 2,200 in non-public school enrollment in 1974-75, one year prior to the implementation of the desegregation plan. During the spring and summer of 1974, a desegregation plan was anticipated; however, court action delayed the actual implementation until the 1975-76 school year. Non-public school enrollment had been decreasing for several years and the 1974 increase constituted a reversal of that trend. Subsequent gains in enrollment were approximately 2,400 in 1975-76, 2,600 in 1976-77, and 1,050 in 1977-78. There were, by 1977-78, approximately 10,900 students enrolled in non-public schools who would have been in public schools had there been no desegregation event. Due to a small decrease in non-public school enrollment, this figure dropped to 10,500 students in 1978-79.

Transfers to Catholic schools accounted for most of the non-public school enrollment increase in 1974-75. In 1975-76, Catholic schools enforced an admissions policy designed to check the influx of public school transfers due to the implementation of the desegregation plan. The effort was apparently successful as shown by the fact that in subsequent years the enrollment gains were mostly in other non-public schools.

Migration patterns in the Jefferson County community have contributed to a decline in the number of white public school students. Analyses of the combined public and non-public school enrollment trends show that for several years the community has been losing school-age children at a rate faster than would be expected based on birthrate decline. Families with school age children have been moving out of the county at a rate faster than they are being replaced by families with school-age children. In 1974, when the initial gain in non-public school enrollment was observed, there was no indication of movement by white students out

of Jefferson County in excess of the trend which had been established earlier. This seems reasonable since the anticipation of a desegregation plan in 1974-75 did not reach major proportions until the spring and summer of 1974. Thus, while there was sufficient time to transfer children to non-public schools, there was not enough time to arrange for new housing. During the first year of desegregation, 1,200 to 1,700 students moved out of Jefferson County in excess of the number which would have been expected based on out-migration trends. In 1976-77 the number rose to approximately 1,900; by the third year of desegregation, 1977-78, the number had decreased to approximately 1,100. In 1978-79 the number had fallen to approximately 230. It is, therefore, concluded that during the first three years of desegregation, there was a small but discernable increase in the number of families with school-age children who moved out of Jefferson County. By the fourth year of desegregation, the loss of white students related to desegregation had become negligible.

The decline in birthrate began to affect white public school enrollment in 1971 and continued through 1978. The birthrate decline, coupled with out-migration patterns which had existed since the 1960's, accounted for approximately 23,000 of the 33,500 decline in white enrollment between 1973 and 1978. The remaining decline, 10,500 students, resulted from an increase in non-public school enrollment.

Had the implementation of the desegregation plan greatly accelerated the movement of white families out of Jefferson County, a decline in the housing market would have been expected. However, during the period the housing market in Jefferson County was strong, and families moving out of the county could expect a good price when selling their house. Despite the fact that parents leaving Jefferson County might state that the desegregation order was a factor in causing them to move, it is important to emphasize that residential

white flight exists only when net losses occur. That is, no matter how many families move out and attribute the move to desegregation, if all of the families are replaced, there is no white flight. The net loss of families that could be associated with the implementation of the desegregation order involved small numbers of parents and occurred only during the first years of the implementation of the plan.

The increase in transfers to non-public schools has occurred under circumstances that link the increase to the implementation of desegregation. In order to determine whether transfers to non-public schools were the direct result of the desegregation order rather than some other factor, interviews were conducted with the parents of children who were transferred. These parents were divided into three groups: those whose children transferred to Catholic schools, those whose children transferred to mainstream private schools, and those whose children transferred to church-related schools which were started at about the same time as the implementation of desegregation. Parents whose children were placed in mainstream private schools strongly favored full racial integration and were equally certain that it was a good idea for children to go to schools which have a racial balance similar to that found in Jefferson County. They were almost unanimous in stating that the quality of education has declined since the implementation of desegregation. Parents whose children were transferred to newly established church-related schools had less favorable attitudes toward desegregation and were less concerned about the quality of education. The attitudes of Catholic school parents fell between these two groups.

The decision made by these parents to send their children to non-public schools was clearly related to the implementation of the desegregation plan. Whether the decision was based on concern for the welfare of their children, a desire to avoid the inconvenience of busing and provide for a better education for their children, or symptomatic of racism cannot be determined. Differences

among the groups may result from socio-ecnomic differences in the perception of what are socially acceptable attitudes. The merger of the Louisville and Jefferson County School Systems was traumatic and since the merger the schools have been under constant attack from both inside and outside the school system. Parents may have perceived that these events, as well as desegregation, contributed to a lower quality of education.

In summary, while large numbers of parents have transferred their children to non-public schools, their true motivation for doing so remains unclear. This is probably because such decisions are not made based on a single factor but are played out through the interaction of numerous contradictory attitudes and considerations. Non-public schools would not have enjoyed their current resurgence without court ordered desegregation, but just how and why school desegregation caused white parents to transfer their children to non-public schools is unclear.

Question 2. Are parents of public school children making residential changes within the county to avoid the busing of their children?

The analysis of Black student enrollment in Jefferson County clearly indicates that Black enrollment has increased in formerly white schools. This increase has taken place in both the South and East, but is greatest in the South. Black enrollment has declined in the formerly Black schools in the West. Black enrollment for the entire county has remained relatively stable over the past four years and it can, therefore, be concluded that these enrollment changes are the result of residential movement. Black students volunteering to be bused could provide an alternative explanation for these enrollment changes, but because Blacks are already bused for 10 of their 12 years, this is unlikely. Some of this movement may be to small Black neighborhoods in the county, but because the movement is so widespread, there appears to be a sizable shift of Black families

out of the West end of Louisville into formerly white areas of the county. Such moves are attractive, because according to the desegregation plan a Black child living in a white residential area does not have to be bused.

Interviews were conducted with Black parents who had moved into white neighborhoods with the expectation that the desegregation plan could be shown to have a positive effect on residential desegregation. The results of the interviews, however, do not support that conclusion. Almost all of the parents interviewed denied having moved in order to avoid the inconvenience of busing and, in fact, many were under the mistaken impression that their children would continue to be bused.

During the second year of the study, an unsuccessful attempt was made to locate families of white students who had moved to neighborhoods where their children would be attending formerly Black schools. Their children had either been attending these schools for quite some time, or they had moved for reasons clearly unrelated to an attempt to avoid the involvement of their children in the busing plan. The responses that they made to questions related to busing, desegregation, and the quality of education were uncharacteristic of persons wishing to avoid the desegregation plan.

Question 3. What are the features of court-ordered desegregation that influence enrollment changes in the schools?

As stated earlier, approximately 10,500 fewer white students attended Jefferson County Public Schools in 1978-79 than would have been expected had the desegregation plan not been implemented. The loss was in Black elementary schools in the West and white elementary schools in the East. White enrollment in the South has increased since the initial year of desegregation. A large factor in this increase was undoubtedly the boycott action in 1975 which kept the enrollment at a low level. White enrollment in formerly Black high schools has

increased since desegregation was implemented in 1975. As with the elementary schools in the South, the 1975 enrollment was low because of the school boycotts and that factor partially accounts for the increase registered by 1978. In addition, high schools in the county are quite different from those located in the city of Louisville that were formerly Black and some white students apparently find the academic and social atmosphere in those schools attractive and volunteer for busing.

Question 4. What are the characteristics of the following three groups of parents?

a. those who transfer their children to non-public schools?

b. those who move out of the county?

c. those who move within the county?

Parents whose children transferred to mainstream private schools viewed integration much more favorably than any of the other sub-groups of parents. This group tended to be better educated than the others with a higher proportion of men in the professions. They were older and had much higher incomes than any of the other respondents. The quality of education provided by the public schools was of more concern than the issues of desegregation and busing. Those parents who transferred their children from public to private church-related schools were more strongly opposed to desegregation than any of the other groups. Those respondents who returned their children to public schools after one year in a private church-related school were also adamantly opposed to desegregation and busing. Parents in this category were less concerned with the quality of education provided by the public schools and more opposed to Blacks and whites going to school together. For the most part, these parents were skilled laborers and tended to be less well educated.

While some parents who moved out of the county are quite willing to state that desegregation played a part in their decision to move, their attitudes toward

desegregation, busing, and quality of education are less strong than those who had their children transferred to non-public schools. Parents who moved out of the county tended to be older, less educated, skilled workers; parents who transferred their children to non-public schools were younger, better educated professionals. Usually it is assumed that older, less educated people tend to be more conservative in their attitudes toward social issues, especially in regard to desegregation/busing. But, in fact, it was the non-public parent sample, those younger, better educated, that held to the more conservative attitudes. Those who moved out of the county were very similar to the community norms while the non-public parent sample was, again, more conservative.

During the second year of the study, a large proportion of the Black families who moved within the county were headed by females who worked as professionals, were well educated, and had high incomes. Black families contacted during the third year of the study differed by being more likely to be two parent families and have lower educational and income levels. However, like those parents interviewed in the second year, they stated that they had not moved to avoid the inconvenience of busing and were often under the mistaken impression that their children were still going to be bused. Black parents interviewed during both the second and third years regarded the quality of public school education as being satisfactory. Most were in favor of busing and felt that educational conditions for Black students had improved since desegregation.

Discussion

Researchers have reached a general consensus that white flight, at least to some degree, is the inevitable result of school desegregation. The methodological approaches to the study of white flight used by most researchers ignore birthrate, migration trends, and transfers to non-public schools. The use of this

conventional approach would have led to the conclusion that large scale residential white flight took place in Jefferson County. However, when birthrate and out-migration trends are considered, the decline in white public school enrollment can be explained almost entirely in terms of transfers to non-public schools.

The number of children lost to non-public schools is large and includes families which public schools can ill afford to lose. Their parents are above average in number of years of education and tend to be professionals. Such families have traditionally given active and effective support to the public schools. Many of these parents would have continued sending their children to public schools had they not become convinced that the quality of education would suffer as a result of the implementation of the desegregation plan.

Since the study was initiated, a consensus has developed concerning factors that affect the relationship between desegregation and white flight. It is believed that metropolitan type desegregation plans result in less residential white flight. The results of the present study support that position.

Desegregation plans which include the reassignment of white students to formerly Black schools are believed to encourage white flight. This effect was evident in Jefferson County as many white students who were scheduled to attend formerly Black schools failed to do so. According to Rossell (1978b), parents who avoid school desegregation are from higher socioeconomic levels than those who do not. The findings of this study are consistent with that proposition. Consistent with the findings of this study is Rossell's suggestion that avoidance of desegregation during the first year of implementation may take the form of transfers to non-public schools rather than residential moves.

Rossell (1978a) has suggested a relationship between the degree of demonstration and protest and white flight. There was a high level of protest in Jefferson County and national and local television coverage made it possible for

residents of Jefferson County who lived many miles from the site of the protests to participate vicariously. Rossell also suggests a relationship between the patterns of media coverage and the degree of white flight experienced when a desegregation plan is implemented. An informal study in Jefferson County showed that newspapers emphasized the negative aspects of desegregation (Post, 1978). This may have been a factor in encouraging movement to non-public schools.

The actions of the Nixon and Ford administrations were resolutely anti-busing beginning in the early 1970's (Orfield, 1978). The Supreme Court's position on desegregation has become increasingly conservative. Desegregation was implemented in Jefferson County at a time when opposition to desegregation and busing had reached its apex. Citizens who resisted the desegregation plan were encouraged by the support they perceived as coming from Washington. The Jefferson County Board of Education exhausted every judicial appeal in resisting the desegregation order. The county judge (Jefferson County's chief executive officer) intervened in the case and proposed an alternate plan designed to eliminate mandatory busing. Respected social scientists David Armor and James Coleman served as consultants in devising the alternate plan (Newburg Area Council, Inc. vs Jefferson County Board of Education, 1976). The belief that white flight would inevitably accompany desegregation and result in a decline in the quality of education received support from many segments of society. It is probable that the statements and actions of political leaders and social scientists influenced the decisions of many parents concerning whether or not to avoid participation in the desegregation plan. Predictions of white flight may have increased the amount of white flight which actually occurred.

Recommendations

Policy makers must exercise caution in considering the conclusions and recommendations of desegregation studies. Each school district and community

possesses unique characteristics including size, ratio of minority to majority population, and prevailing attitudes which influence the reaction to a desegregation plan. The plan may be the result of court action or a voluntary action of the local school authority. The plan in one district may be quite different from that in another. It may have the characteristics of a metropolitan plan, involve busing of only minority students, directly affect a large segment of the community, have areas exempt from the transportation elements of the plan, and/or include magnet schools. The absence or presence of these variations will influence the communities' reactions. The desegregation event, especially if it comes through a court order, causes considerable confusion in the schools and the community. Data are difficult to obtain and validate even in the instance of an on site case study such as the one reported here.

The following recommendations are made:

1. Metropolitan-type plans should be used when possible because residential moves outside the district are apparently minimized by such plans.
2. When the plan includes attendance areas exempt from busing, it is important that planners recognize that such areas may already be in transition, and that schools in those areas may be resegregated in a short time.
3. Plans which involve busing white students to schools which formerly served Black students should emphasize all positive aspects of that educational environment. Attractive educational programs should be offered in those schools because parents apparently reject schools which they perceive as offering inferior educational programs.

4. The cooperation and leadership of parochial and other non-public school leaders can be effective when a desegregation plan is implemented. Such cooperation, if obtained, can reduce the number of students who transfer from public to non-public schools.
5. When a desegregation plan is contemplated, community leaders should emphasize the positive aspects of an integrated society, including ethical, social, economic and educational effects. Educational programs which emphasize the educational opportunities in a desegregated system should be designed and implemented when a desegregation plan is first considered and time should be provided for the development of such programs. There are many persons who can be influenced to support the public schools if they have some reason to believe that the quality of education is not suffering and that positive effects on other community problems may be achieved.
6. Desegregation studies which investigate white flight must include analysis of established trends in birthrate, migration, and public and non-public school enrollment. Failure to include all factors which may be contributing to a decline in white enrollment can result in erroneous conclusions concerning the impact of desegregation on white enrollment. Policy makers and the public are misled when increases in non-public school enrollment are reported as residential white flight.
7. Future research should include the study of the relationship between the quality of education and white flight. The following questions should be addressed: Can desegregation plans be designed which, in the minds of the public, enhance the quality of education for all students? Can concerted action on the part of governmental, business, and educational leaders instill public confidence that the quality

of education will remain stable or even be enhanced through a desegregation plan? What is the relationship between concern about quality of education and symbolic racism?

8. Further efforts to ascertain the effect of the desegregation plan on residential patterns within Jefferson County should be undertaken when 1980 census data become available.
9. As case studies of other metropolitan type desegregation plans become available, the findings should be compared.

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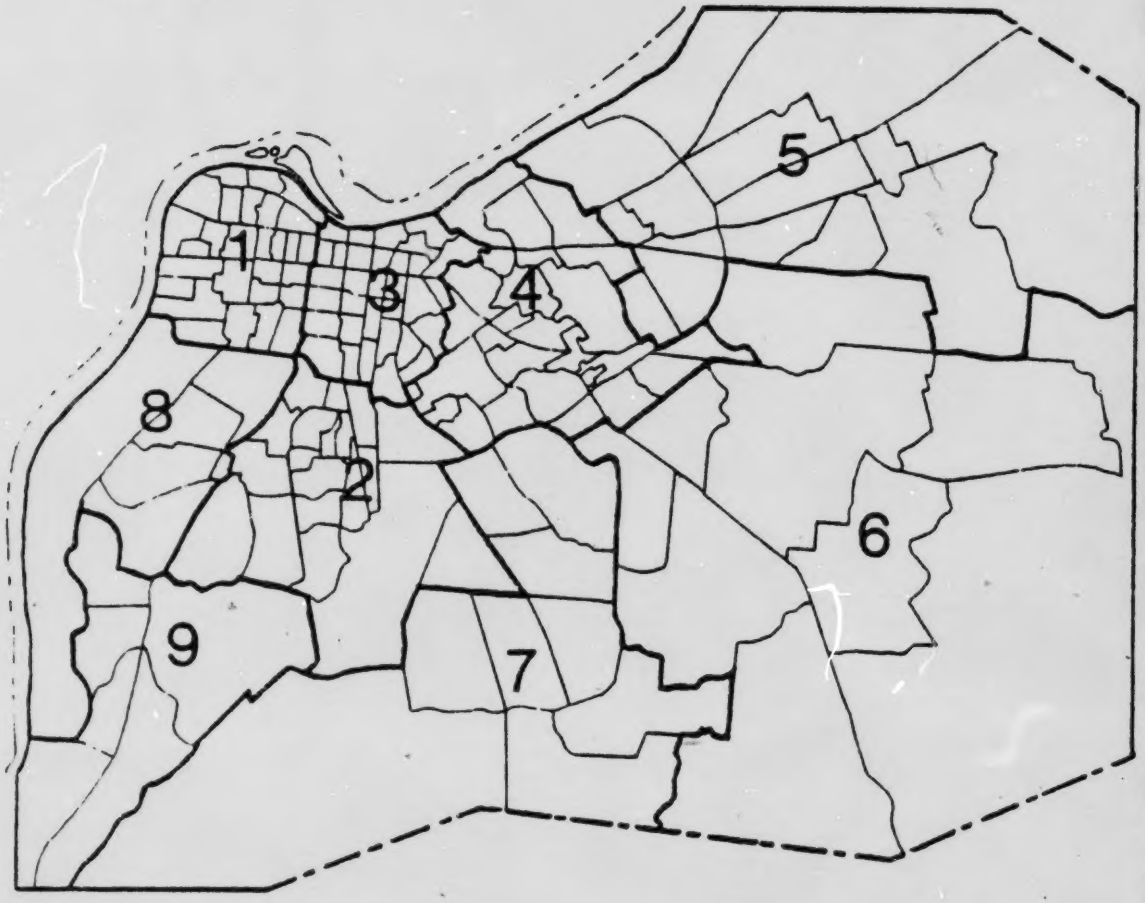
APPENDIX A

JEFFERSON COUNTY DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

AND

NET MIGRATION ESTIMATES FOR WHITE POPULATION

Human Service Planning Areas



The following demographic data were obtained by permission from the Human Services Coordination Alliance, The Small Area Profiles, 1978.

	Population		
	1970	1975	1976
Jefferson County Total			
Population	695,055	697,780	
Population under 18	247,297	216,040	
Black population	95,588		
Average household income			$15,808
Planning Area 1			
Population	99,767	86,973	
Population under 18	37,981	30,814	
Black population	65,053		
Average household income			$10,910
Planning Area 2			
Population	93,320	89,989	
Population under 18	29,771	25,511	
Black population	1,367		
Average household income			$13,328
Planning Area 3			
Population	70,753	62,338	
Population under 18	19,952	16,179	
Black population	17,243		
Average household income			$ 8,449
Planning Area 4			
Population	97,795	92,210	
Population under 18	26,478	20,071	
Black population	703		
Average household income			$17,606
Planning Area 5			
Population	66,505	76,153	
Population under 18	23,940	21,606	
Black population	1,806		
Average household income			$24,949
Planning Area 6			
Population	69,640	87,434	
Population under 18	28,370	29,846	
Black population	1,549		
Average household income			$19,660
Planning Area 7			
Population	76,757	84,968	
Population under 18	32,543	31,206	
Black population	5,345		
Average household income			$15,084

	1970	1975	1976
Planning Area 8			
Population	53,575	51,171	
Population under 18	19,539	16,345	
Black population	2,251		
Average household income			$16,201
Planning Area 9			
Population	66,943	66,544	
Population under 18	28,723	24,462	
Black population	271		
Average household income			$17,633

Population 11

Population Change-Black 1960-1975

This indicator affords an overview of general movements of the black population by planning area during the 15 years since 1960.

During the 1960's, the black population in western Louisville increased by about 23,000 persons (half again the 1960 population) while the black population in Jefferson County as a whole only grew by about 17,000 persons. During this same period, the only other planning area to lose a significant number of blacks - the central Louisville area - declined by about 8,400. This evidence suggests that at least a portion of central Louisville blacks took advantage of the housing opening up in western Louisville.

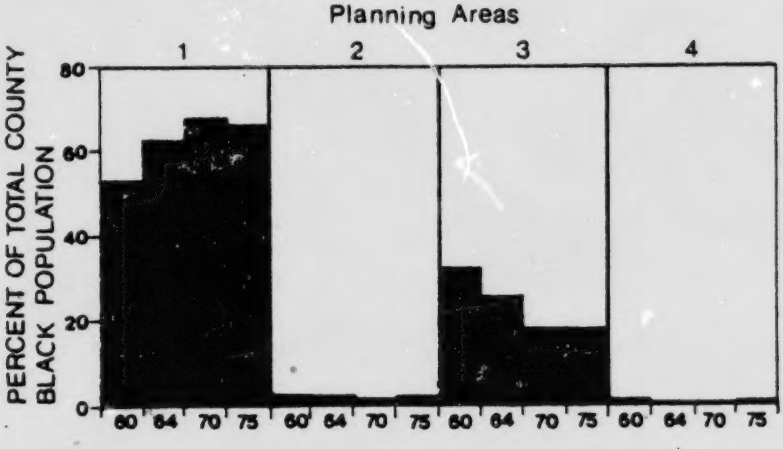
The only other region showing a large increase in black population before 1970 was Planning Area 8. Between 1960 and 1964, the number of blacks in that area remained virtually unchanged at around 100. During the next six years, however, that figure jumped more than twenty-fold to 2,250 by 1970.

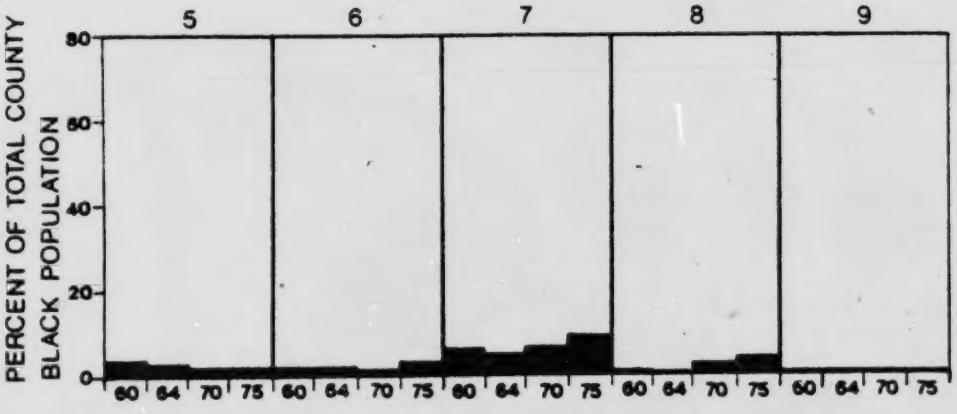
Between 1970 and 1975, black population increases in western Louisville stabilized while two new areas of black growth became established. Planning Area 8 doubled in black population to about 4,600; blacks in that area now comprise 9% of the total population. Additionally, during this five-year period, the black population in the Okolona-Fairdale-Newburg region almost doubled to 9,100, giving blacks about 11% of the population.

It appears that, in the last 15 years as income levels for at least some blacks rose, growing numbers of blacks left the city for the suburbs. However, much of the increase in black population has occurred along the borders of previously black areas (Planning Area 8) or in black suburban areas such as Newburg (Planning Area 7). There is no evidence that this movement is going into planning areas which have been almost entirely white in the past.

Population Change-Black 1970-1975

Percentage of Total Black Population in County by Planning Areas 1960-1975





Jefferson County
Net Migration Estimates for the White Population

Age	Net Migration 1960 - 1965	1965 - 1970	1970 - 1975
All Ages	247	-275	-7,450
0-4	5,860	6,793	-858
5-9	-8,509	-4,365	-454
10-14	-1,413	-432	-784
15-19	-933	-1,427	-2,303
20-24	3,262	-814	-2,193
25-29	1,781	3,338	585
30-34	-147	1,817	1,159
35-39	-277	-111	-231
40-44	-355	-136	-337
45-49	-368	-137	-109
50-54	-693	-80	-147
55-59	-720	-351	-426
60-64	-1,163	-348	-178
65-69	-832	-682	-531
70-74	3,982	-383	-316
75 +	772	-2,957	-327

The procedure used for the calculation of net migration estimates is described by Shryock and Siegel in The Methods and Materials of Demography, Vol. II, page 702.

This table was furnished by Dr. James Brockway, Population Research Division, Urban Studies Center, University of Louisville.

APPENDIX B

A CHRONOLOGY OF DESEGREGATION EVENTS IN

JEFFERSON COUNTY

1971 - 1975

A CHRONOLOGY OF DESEGREGATION EVENTS IN

JEFFERSON COUNTY
1971 - 1975

June 21, 1971 - The United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare ordered the Jefferson County Board of Education to remove the "racial identity" of Newburg Elementary School.

June 28, 1971 - The Jefferson County Board of Education approved seven plans for desegregating Newburg School by "pairing" it with other schools.

July, 13, 1971 - HEW rejected all seven plans.

June 21, 1971 - Jefferson Circuit Judge Marvin J. Sternberg ruled that the Louisville School System's "minority transfer plan" for increasing integration was unconstitutional and that the system was integrated.

August 7, 1971 - The Jefferson County School Board voted to miss the HEW deadline for desegregating Newburg School. It also voted to continue negotiations with federal officials.

August 21, 1971 - Kentucky Civil Liberties Union (KCLU) and Legal Aid Society attorneys filed suit in U.S. District Court, asking for desegregation of the Jefferson County School System.

June 22, 1972 - KCLU and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) attorneys filed a suit asking for desegregation of the Louisville schools through annexation of all the area inside the city limits but outside the present city school boundaries.

Immediately afterwards, the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights filed an intervention suit asking that desegregation be achieved through merger of the Louisville, Jefferson County and Anchorage school systems.

July 10, 1972 - Louisville and Jefferson County Federation of Teachers filed an intervention suit asking that the Louisville schools be desegregated by annexing a substantial part of Jefferson County school district, including the 4th class cities of St. Matthews and Shively.

September 6, 1972 - U.S. District Judge James F. Gordon ruled that he would not order merger or annexation as a method of desegrega tion. He also dismissed Anchorage from the suit.

December 1, 1972 - Trail began before Judge Gordon on the suits filed by KCLU, the Legal Aid Society and the NAACP.

March 8, 1973 - Gordon dismissed the suits against the Louisville and Jefferson County school systems, ruling that both systems were integrated. An attorney for the civil-rights groups said they would appeal Gordon's decision.

October 3, 1973 - The U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati heard oral arguments from both sides of the desegregation suit.

December 28, 1973 - The Circuit Court of Appeals ordered a desegregation plan prepared for all school districts - Louisville, Jefferson County and Anchorage, reversing Gordon's decision. The Court set September of 1974 as the effective date for desegregation to take place.

The District Court (Judge Gordon) has the responsibility for ordering the broad outline of a desegregation plan. Any one of four options may be used by the District Court:

*An intra-district plan which would bring about desegregation within each school district, without crossing other school district lines.

*An inter-district plan which would bring about desegregation through exchanging children across school district lines, but which would leave each school district intact as a legal entity.

*A unitary district plan which would merge all three school systems and desegregate within the district.

*A combination of the inter- and intra-district options.

The Metropolitan or county-wide plan has been supported by the Louisville Board of Education in the event that desegregation takes place. It would involve both city and county staff and students, and would attempt to insure a plan that would be maximally <u>equitable</u> to all involved.

January 6, 1974 - The Jefferson County Board of Education announced it would appeal the Circuit Court ruling to the Supreme Court. The Louisville Board will join the Jefferson County Board in the appeal, but only to protect its position that any desegregation plan should be county-wide and not limited to just the city.

January 14, 1974 - The Jefferson County Board of Education formally filed a motion with the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, asking for a postponement of the court's desegregation order until March 5 to allow time for an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Anchorage district, in a related motion, asked the court for a rehearing on the grounds that the all-white school system shouldn't have been included in the December 28 order because it was dismissed from the original desegregation suit before it came to trail.

January 30, 1974 - The U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals denied the Anchorage Board of Education's request for a rehearing on an order that the one-school district be included in a desegregation plan for Louisville and Jefferson County.

March 11, 1974 - The Jefferson County Board of Education formally took the Louisville school district's request for merger under advisement. In its resolution, the county school board said it "does hereby express an interest in the request" and will study the proposal as well as seek a joint meeting with the city school board.

March 12, 1974 - U.S. Judge James F. Gordon of the Western District of Kentucky set up a timetable of 30 days for working out a desegregation plan but offered no guidelines for accomplishing the mandate set forth by the U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals.

A second order joins the Kentucky State Board of Education and Lyman Ginger, Kentucky Superintendent of Public Education, as defendants in the suit, making them subject to any court orders that may be necessary to carry out the desegregation plans.

The order says further that after the plan or plans are filed, the civil-rights groups will have 30 days to file objections or alternate plans.

March 13, 1974 - House Passes School-Merger Bill, 57 to 24. House Bill #640 now goes to the Senate. The bill would set up seven districts, based on Census tracts, and each would elect one board member. The bill would only become effective after merger.

March 14, 1974 - In a public display of unity, the Louisville and Jefferson County school superintendents told the Senate Education Committee that merger of the two systems by July 1 is a foregone conclusion. Louisville Superintendent Newman Walker announced for the first time that he has agreed to be deputy superintendent under county Superintendent Richard VanHoose in the merged system.

March 19, 1974 - A close House vote put Kentucky in the list of states calling for a federal constitutional convention to prohibit

busing for racial balance. Kentucky now becomes the 15th state (33 states or 2/3 necessary to force Congress to consider the move) to join the convention call. The Senate has approved the resolution and the measure now goes to the governor for his signature.

March 20, 1974 - Senate gives final approval to House Bill #640 (Louisville-Jefferson County school merger bill) which now goes to the governor.

March 22, 1974 - The 1974 General Assembly passed and sent to Governor Wendell Ford a permissive tax package for the Louisville and Jefferson County schools as well as the Anchorage system, SB #206, which will continue the current school occupational-tax rate of three-fourths of one percent. After January 1, 1975, with Fiscal Court approval, either an income surtax of up to 20 percent or a 3 percent utility tax or some combination of both may be levied.

March 25, 1974 - The Jefferson County School Board files a petition with the U.S. Supreme Court asking for a review of the lower court's (U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals) decision.

The Louisville Board of Education filed a petition to the U.S. Supreme Court, asking the court to provide for either "metropolitan" desegregation in the Louisville area, or a review of the lower court's desegregation order. The petition states the Louisville system is appealing only because the county and Anchorage districts are appealing.

March 27, 1974 - The Anchorage Board of Education mails a legal brief to the U.S. Supreme Court, contending that the district never had its day in court. The brief also states that "all children" who apply to the Anchorage school are accepted without regard to race, "provided they live within the boundaries of the Anchorage school district."

March 29, 1974 - Governor Wendell H. Ford signs Senate Bill #206 for school taxes.

April 10, 1974 - The Anchorage School Board files integration plan in the U.S. District Court in Louisville.

April 11, 1974 - City, County file joint desegregation plan.

April 17, 1974 - The Louisville and Jefferson County Federation of Teachers file a document in U.S. District Court (Louisville) questioning certain aspects of the proposed school-desegregation plan for Louisville and Jefferson County. (The federation became an intervening plaintiff in the desegregation suit involving Louisville, Jefferson County and Anchorage public schools in July 1972, when it asked that city schools be desegregated by annexing a substantial part of the county school district.)

April 18, 1974 - Civil-rights attorney Robert Sedler says that the groups he represents won't plan to file an alternate school desegregation plan with U.S. District Court here (Louisville).

April 19, 1974 - Papers were mailed to Supreme Court by Lexington attorney, Robert Sedler, telling the high court that it is "somewhat incongruous" for the three Jefferson County school boards to appeal a desegregation order when two of them have submitted a "model" plan to U.S. District Court in Louisville.

April 25, 1974 - The Louisville Education Association (LEA) files papers in U.S. District Court asking Judge James Gordon's permission to intervene on behalf of the city system's 2,100 teachers.

April 29, 1974 - First joint meeting of the Louisville and Jefferson County school board members to discuss merger.

May 7, 1974 - NAACP leaders back integration Plan A.

May 8, 1974 - Jefferson County Schools realign staff, dim merger prospects.

May 13, 1974 - City, county offer separate pupil assignment plans to Judge.

May 24, 1974 - Jefferson County Schools submit to Judge new plan - Plan C - claiming minimized busing.

June 6, 1974 - Civil-rights groups file brief asking Court to order merger of the Jefferson County, Louisville and Anchorage schools. The brief states acceptance of Plan A, filed previously by Jefferson County and Louisville, and rejects Plan C, filed May 24, by Jefferson County.

June 11, 1974 - Lawyers for all plaintiffs, and those representing the school systems meet with Judge Gordon for instructions, and setting the date for the hearing. The Judge urged the three school systems to merge by July 16, 1974, the date set for the hearing of the desegregation case.

July 8, 1974 - Two school boards ask desegregation delay.

July 16, 1974 - Hearing before Judge Gordon on Desegregation of Louisville, Jefferson County and Anchorage. Judge strongly implies he'll order merger here. Louisville Schools defend Plan A.

July 18, 1974 - Jefferson County Schools defend Plan C.

July 19, 1974 - Judge Gordon rejects both Plan A and Plan C. He orders new Plan X to be submitted next Tuesday, July 23. Associate Superintendent, Vito Brucchieri, Jefferson County Schools, and Dr. Frank Rapley, Louisville Schools, were appointed by Judge Gordon to draw up new Plan X as a joint effort of both school systems.

July 23, 1974 - Judge Gordon accepts Plan X and orders merger and busing for City and County this fall. Anchorage school system is included in busing.

July 25, 1974 - High Court (Supreme Court) upsets Detroit busing order. Louisville-area school plan canceled as most cross-district busing barred. Case referred back to 6th Circuit.

July 29, 1974 - Civil-rights groups ask Court to reinstate school merger and busing.

August 1, 1974 - Louisville and Jefferson County systems file separate court briefs today asking U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals not to grant a request by three civil-rights groups for reinstatement of U.S. District James Gordon's order merging the two systems as part of a desegregation plan involving the busing of more than 30,000 students.

August 8, 1974 - Anchorage Seeks Release from Suit. Papers filed last week with appellate court by attorneys for Anchorage, said the 350-student school system was neither a "necessary or appropriate" party in light of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision last month on school desegregation in Detroit.

U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals scheduled new oral agruments for October 14 in the Louisville-Jefferson County school desegregation case. The court also denied a motion by civil-rights groups to have a merger-busing order reinstated.

August 29, 1974 - A brief filed today by the Louisville Board of Education asks the U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals to change its mind and rule the Louisville school system desegregated. The brief contends that a recent U.S. Supreme Court decision has ruled out the possibility of an effective desegregation plan here even if the Louisville system is ruled segregated, and asks the 6th Circuit Court to reinstate a March 1973 ruling by U.S. District Judge James F. Gordon.

August 30, 1974 - In a brief filed today on behalf of a coalition of civil-rights groups, merger of the Louisville and Jefferson County Schools to accomplish racial desegregation is dictated, rather than denied by a U.S. Supreme Court decision

in Detroit case, is stated.

August 30, 1974 - The Jefferson County Board of Education filed a brief contending that the U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals was wrong when it concluded that the school system was segregated, and that the 6th Circuit Court should review its earlier ruling.

August 30, 1974 - In a special session late yesterday, the Jefferson County Board of Education voted to challenge the constitutionality of a new state law designed to ensure minority representation on the school board that would be created by a merger of the county and Louisville school systems.

September 13, 1974 - Anti-busing group says Appeals Court failed to use Supreme Court standards. Brief filed with court.

September 14, 1974 - School systems can desegregate separately, county brief contends. Brief filed with court.

September 15, 1974 - Rights-coalition brief says desegregation still needed filed with court.

October 14, 1974 - A three-judge panel of the U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals conducts second hearing on desegregation case against Louisville, Anchorage and Jefferson County (Judge Wade H. McCree, Jr., Judge William E. Miller, and Judge J.H. Phillips.)

November 6, 1974 - Jefferson County Schools Superintendent Richard VanHoose announces his retirement effective December 31, 1974.

November 11, 1974 - The Louisville Board of Education voted to seek merger with the Jefferson County School System by January 15, 1975, "or as soon as possible thereafter."

November 20, 1974 - Jefferson County Board of Education files an amendment to a suit filed September 3, 1974, to broaden the suit so that it challenges the constitutionality of the state laws that would apply to merger of the Louisville and Jefferson County schools.

November 25, 1974 - County denies city school-merger bid, pending outcome of its court action.

December 2, 1974 - City schools hand issue of merger to state board. The Louisville Board of Education voted unanimously to go to Kentucky State Board of Education within a week with a request for simple merger with the Jefferson County School System.

December 4, 1974 - Hearing before Judge Lyndon R. Schmid to test validity of two school-merger laws -- 1974 (HB 640) and 1952 -- as challenged by the Jefferson County Board of Education.

December 10, 1974 - Jefferson County Board of Education names Ernest C. Grayson Superintendent, effective January 1, 1975.

December 11, 1974 - The U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals today reinstated its December 28, 1973 order requiring the federal courts here "to formulate a desegregation plan" in which school-district lines "shall impose no barrier" to effective desegregation.

The December 28 order was "modified" to provide that any desegregation plan prepared in the U.S. District Court here would not go into effect until:

"All appeals in connection with such an order have been exhausted or, in the event no appeals are taken, until the time for such appeals has expired."

or

Until the start of the 1975-76 academic year, at the earliest.

December 17, 1974 - Jefferson Circuit Judge Lyndon R. Schmid today ruled unconstitutional two laws that provide for Louisville school board representation on the board of a newly merged city-county school district.

January 6, 1975 - The Jefferson County school board voted to appeal the Court of Appeals order to the U.S. Supreme Court. The city said it, too, would appeal.

January 8, 1975 - The Louisville Board of Education in a brief filed in federal court said if a county-wide desegregation plan is called for - Plan X should be implemented.

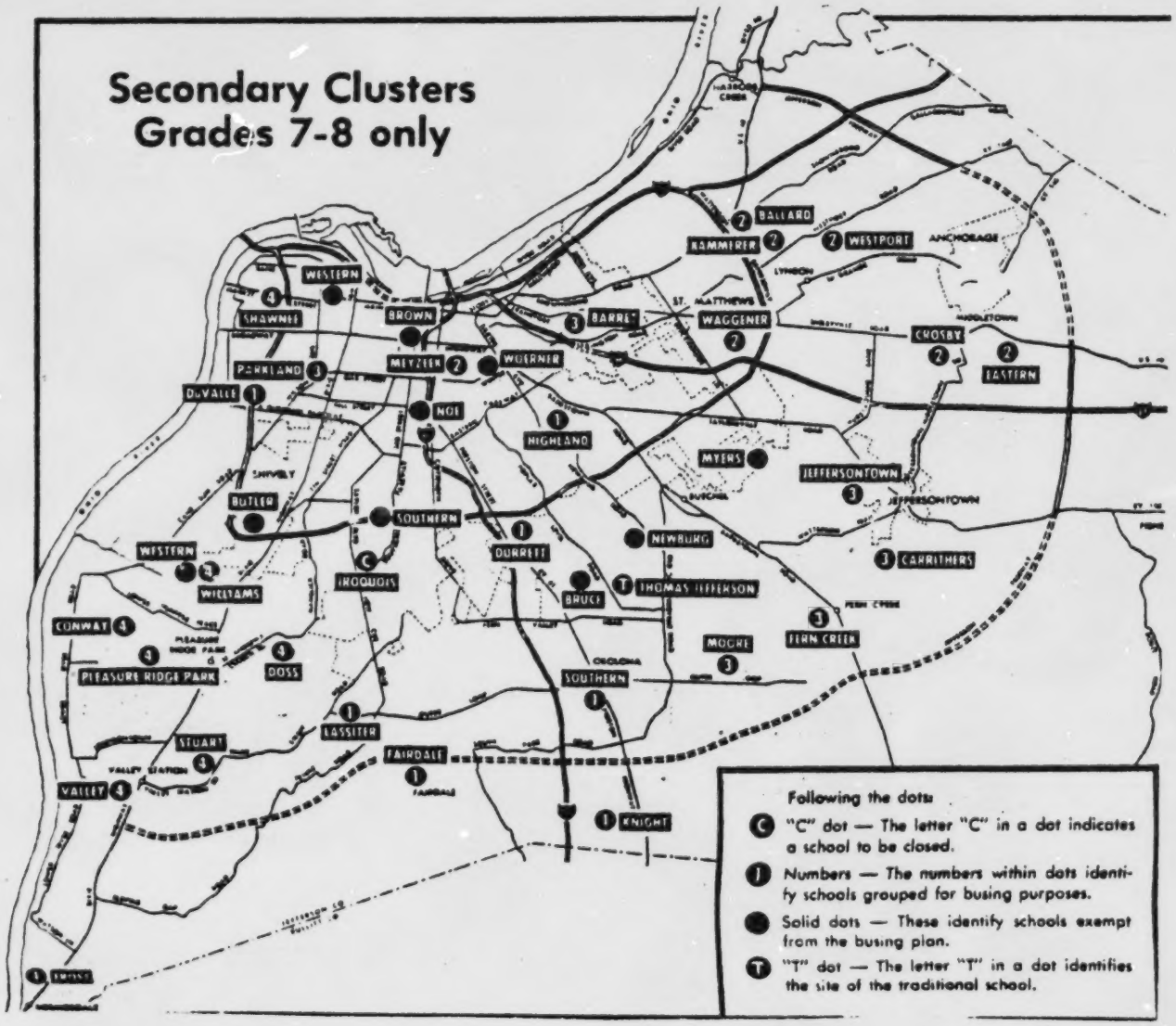
January 13, 1975 - County attorney Fulton filed brief stating the motion by Civil-rights attorneys to reinstate Plan X be overruled. He argues that Plan X violates a federal law enacted after the desegregation plan was drawn up. (Plan X is "contrary to provisions" of the Educational Opportunities Act of 1974 passed by Congress August 21, 1974)

January 14, 1975 - The Louisville Board of Education filed a brief asking the Kentucky Court of Appeals to overrule a lower court's decision that would deny city board members seats on a merged board of education.

January 30, 1975	-	Gordon ordered the Jefferson County system to draw up a desegregation plan.
March, 1975	-	State Superintendent of Instruction ruled for merger of the boards by April 1.
March, 1975	-	Kentucky Court of Appeals overturned the lower courts ruling and established a 10 member board of education.
April 21, 1975	-	The U.S. Supreme Court denied appeals of Jefferson County Board of Education.
April 30, 1975	-	Jefferson County Plan submitted.

APPENDIX C

MAP EXEMPLIFYING EXEMPT AND CLUSTERED SCHOOL PATTERNS AND CHART DEPICTING ALPHABETICAL ASSIGNMENT PROCEDURE



Courier-Journal 18 June 1976

CLUSTER 1	% Black
*DUVALLE MIDDLE, 3500 Bohne Ave.	22-28
DURRETT, 4409 Preston Highway	13-19
SOUTHERN (Co.), 8620 Preston Highway	18-24
HIGHLAND, 1700 Norris Place	17-23
LASSITER, 8200 Candleworth Drive	16-22
KNIGHT, 9803 Blue Lick Road	18-24
FAIRDALE 1001 Fairdale Road	21-27

CLUSTER 2	
*MEYZEEK MIDDLE, 828 S. Jackson	14-20
BALLARD, 6000 Brownsboro Road	14-20
KAMMERER, 7401 Westboro Road	15-21
CROSBY, 303 Gatehouse Lane	13-19
EASTERN, 12400 Old Shelbyville Road	23-29
WAGGENER, 330 S. Hubbards Lane	9-15
WESTPORT, 8100 Westport Road	17-23

CLUSTER 3	
*PARKLAND MIDDLE, 2509 Wilson St.	26-32
JEFFERSONTOWN,7600 Old Six Mile Lane	21-27
FERN CREEK, 9115 Fern Creek Road	18-24
CARRITHERS, 4320 Billtown Road	18-24
BARRET, 2561 Grinstead Drive	24-30
MOORE, 6415 Outer Loop	23-29

CLUSTER 4	% Black
*SHAWNEE MIDDLE, 4007 Herman St.	19-25
DOSS, 7601 St. Andrews Church Road	16-22
PLEASURE RIDGE PARK, 5901 Greenwood Road	21-27
STUART, 4601 Valley Station Road	16-22
VALLEY, 10200 Dixie Highway	14-20
CONWAY, 6300 Terry Road	18-24
FROST, 13700 Sanoray Blvd.	18-24
WILLIAMS, 2415 Rockford Lane	20-26

EXEMPTED SCHOOLS	
BROWN, 315 W Broadway	**
BRUCE MIDDLE, 3307 Indian Trail	24-30
BUTLER JUNIOR HIGH, 2222 Crums Lane	12-18
MYERS MIDDLE, 2815 Klondike Lane	16-22
NEWBURG MIDDLE, 5008 Indian Trail	31-37
NOE MIDDLE, 121 W Lee St.	23-29
SOUTHERN MIDDLE (City), 4530 Bellevue Ave.	19-25
T. JEFFERSON TRADITIONAL, 4401 Rangeland Rd	**
WESTERN MIDDLE (City), 2201 W Main St.	23-29
WESTERN JUNIOR HIGH, 2501 Rockford Lane	17-23
WOERNER MIDDLE, 1418 Morton Ave.	26-32

* Formerly a predominantly black school.

** Exempt for special purposes

How to tell when your child will be bused . . . unless

If child's last name begins with letters:	White child will be bused in grades:	Black child will be bused in grades:
A, B, F, Q	11, 12	2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
G, H, L	2, 7	2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
C, P, R, X	3, 8	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
M, O, T, U, V, Y	4, 9	2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12
D, E, N, W, Z	5, 10	2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
I, J, K, S	6	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12

Exempted students:

- Kindergarten students
- First graders
- Students in special schools, primarily for the emotionally or physically handicapped
- Students attending schools exempted under the plan
- Some students with specific handicaps

APPENDIX D

YEAR ONE

PROCEDURE FOR CALCULATING EXPECTED ENROLLMENT

Procedures for Calculating Expected Enrollment

I. High Schools, Junior High Schools, Middle Schools

A. Formerly white

1. White enrollment

a. The number of white students enrolled in the 1974-75 year was multiplied by a value that corrects for a drop in white enrollment based on the trend study.

b. From the above was subtracted one sixth of the number of white students. The resulting amount is the white expected enrollment.

2. Black enrollment

a. The number of Black students enrolled in the 1974-75 year was multiplied by a value that corrects for a drop in Black enrollment based on the trend study.

b. To this value was added a value equal to one sixth of the white enrollment in that particular school. The resulting amount is the expected enrollment of Black students.

B. Formerly Black

1. White enrollment

a. The number of white students enrolled in the 1974-75 year was multiplied by a value that corrected for a drop in white enrollment based on the trends study.

b. To this was added a value equal to five sixth of the Black enrollment in that particular school. The resulting amount is the expected white enrollment.

2. Black enrollment

a. The number of Black students enrolled in the 1974-75 year was multiplied by a value that corrects for a drop in Black enrollment based on the trend study.

b. From the above was subtracted a value equal to five sixth of the above Black enrollment in that particular school. The resulting amount is the expected enrollment of Black students.

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C. Exempt Schools

1. White enrollment

a. White enrollment was determined by multiplying the number of white students enrolled during the 1974-75 school year by a value that corrected for a drop in white enrollment based on the trend study.

2. Black enrollment

a. Black enrollment was determined by multiplying the number of Black students enrolled during the 1974-75 school year by a value that corrected for a drop in white enrollment based on the trend study.

D. Schools that were formerly integrated

1. White students

a. White enrollment was determined by multiplying the number of students enrolled in the 1975-76 year by the percent of white students in the entire system.

b. Black enrollment was determined by multiplying the number of students enrolled in the 1975-76 year by the percent of Black students in the entire system.

II. Elementary Schools

A. Formerly white

1. White enrollment

a. The number of white students enrolled in the 1974-75 year was multiplied by a value that corrects for a drop in white enrollment based on the trend study.

b. From the above was subtracted one sixths of the number of white students. The resulting amount is the white expected enrollment.

2. Black enrollment

a. The number of Black students enrolled in the 1974-75 year was multiplied by a value that corrects for a drop in Black enrollment based on the trend study.

b. To this value was added a value equal to one sixths of the white enrollment in that particular school. The resulting amount is the expected enrollment of Black students.

B. Formerly Black

1. White enrollment

a. The number of white students enrolled in the 1974-75 year was multiplied by a value that corrected for a drop in white enrollment based on the trends study.

b. To this was added a value equal to four sixths of the Black enrollment in that particular school. The resulting amount is the expected white enrollment.

2. Black enrollment

a. The number of Black students enrolled in the 1974-75 year was multiplied by a value that corrects for a drop in Black enrollment based on the trend study.

b. From the above was subtracted a value equal to four sixths of the above Black enrollment of Black students. The resulting amount is the expected enrollment of Black students.

C. Exempt Schools

1. White enrollment

a. White enrollment was determined by multiplying the number of white students enrolled during the 1974-75 school year by a value that corrected for a drop in white enrollment based on the trend study.

2. Black enrollment

a. Black enrollment was determined by multiplying the number of Black students enrolled during the 1974-75 school year by a value that corrected for a drop in white enrollment based on the trend study.

D. Schools that were formerly integrated

1. White students

a. White enrollment was determined by multiplying the number of students enrolled in the 1975-76 year by the percent of white students in the entire system.

b. Black enrollment was determined by multiplying the number of students enrolled in the 1975-76 year by the percent of Black students in the entire system.

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND RESULTS - YEAR 1

Interview Schedule

Interviewer:_____

Interview Date:_____

Reschedule: Date:_____ Time:_____

*Bill Husk: 581-4565

Survey Code Number:_____

Hello is this _____? (Interviewer give name). A group at the University of Louisville is contacting families who have moved from Jefferson County to a neighboring county. Do you have a few minutes? Your name was randomly selected from a list provided by the Jefferson County School System of people who moved within the past two (2) years. I would like your consent to ask you a few brief questions. All information gathered in this survey will be held in confidence; you may refuse to answer any of the questions asked. It shouldn't take more than 5 minutes. May I begin?

1. How many changes in residence have you had in the last ten (10) years?

2. Are you renting or are you buying?

    1. Renting

    2. Buying

3. Were you renting or were you buying in Jefferson County?

    1. Renting

    2. Buying

4. How long had you been planning to move?

5. Why did you move?

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6. Where do the adults in your household work? What is his/her occupation?

		Occupation
Husband	_____	_____
Wife	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____
	_____	_____

7. What is the approximate distance they must drive to work?

	Miles	Time
Husband	_____	_____
Wife	_____	_____
Other 1	_____	_____
Other 2	_____	_____

8. What is the approximate distance they drove to work prior to your move?

	Miles	Time
Husband	_____	_____
Wife	_____	_____
Other 1	_____	_____
Other 2	_____	_____

9. What is the last grade completed by the adults in the family?

Husband_____

Wife_____

Other 1_____

Other 2_____

10. What is your religion?

Protestant_____ Jewish_____

Catholic_____ Other_____

11. What are the ages, sex and grade levels of your children?

	Age	Sex	Grade Level
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			

12. What schools do your children attend?

    1. Public_____
    2. Independent Private_____
    3. Religious Private_____
    4. Other_____

13. Within Jefferson County there were areas that were exempt from busing. That is, the ethnic balance is such that the children in that area are not bused. Did you live in an exempt or non-exempt area in the Jefferson County School System?

    1. exempt
    2. non-exempt

14. During their years in school how many of your children were scheduled to be bused if you stayed in Jefferson County?

15. Did you move because of the desegregation-busing plan?

    yes_____

    no_____

    other_____

16. How many years would your children have been bused?

17. What would you guess the percentage of Black people in your former neighborhood to be?

    1. 0 - 5%
    2. 10 - 20%
    3. 20 - 30%
    4. 30 - 50%
    5. more than 50%
    6. other

18. Is there anything you would care to add about your reasons for moving?

Interview Schedule
Item Explanations

*Senior member of research team whose name and phone number was to be given if the interviewee wished to ask questions about the project.

Questions 1, 2 and 3 were used as low-threat questions to initiate the interview, establish rapport and gather basic demographic data.

Question 4, serves as a validity check on questions 5 and 15.

Question 5 provides opportunity for an open-end response which is checked later in question 15.

Question 6 provides socio-economic data.

Questions 7 and 8 are self-explanatory.

Question 9 provides data which can be correlated with socio-economic information.

Questions 10, 11 and 12 are self-explanatory.

Questions 13, 14, 16 and 17 elicited information already available to the research team and, thus, provided a general measure of validity.

Question 15 addresses the desegregation-busing issue directly and provides a check on question 5.

Question 18 provided an opportunity for the respondent to elaborate and possibly give additional information. Also, it signaled the close of the interview.

Schedule Development

All members of the research team participated in the development of the schedule. Approximately 30 items were considered for inclusion in the schedule which went through four drafts.

Interview Training

Two members of the team, field data collectors, participated in three hours of simulated interviews under the supervision of the field supervisor. The initial interviews were conducted by one field data collector and observed and critiqued by the other. Three interviews were completed by one field data collector, and the remainder were completed by the second field data collector.

Interview Results

QUESTIONS:	Interview A1	Interview A2	Interview A3	Interview A4	Interview A5
1.# moves in last 10 yrs?	6	1	2	2	3
2.renting/ buying now?	buying	renting	buying	buying	renting & building
3.renting/buying before?	renting	renting	owned	buying	buying
4.how long planning move?	2 years	4-5 years	1 year	2 years	2 years
5.why move?	busing, get to country	busing	busing	busing	busing
6.job? h	cen oper	union underwr	restaurant mgr	Ford/repair	Ford/office
w	bookkeeper			waitress	
7.job travel now for h?	35 miles 45-60 minutes	4 miles 5 minutes	15 miles 20-25 minutes	40 miles 40-45 minutes	5 miles 10 minutes
job travel now for w?	23 miles 30 minutes				10 miles 20 minutes
8.job travel before for h?	25 miles 30 minutes	2-3 miles (changed jobs)	10 minutes	35 miles 40-45 minutes	7 miles 10 minutes
job travel before for w?	23 miles 30 minutes				12 miles 30 minutes
9.educ for h?	12th grade	5th grade	12th grade +	12th grade	college grad
educ for w?	12th grade	12th grade	11th grade	11th grade	hs grad (German)
10.religion?	protestant	protestant	protestant	protestant	prot/catholic
11.children?	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade
	10 f 5 10 f 5 12 f 5 16 m 10	8 m 2	12 f 6 10 m 4 5 f	10 f 5 6 f 1 8 mo. m	9 f 4 4 m
12.kind of school now attending?	public	public	public	public	public
13. before move, exempt or nonexempt?	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt
14. how many of children were to be bused?	all 4		all 3	all 3	both
15. did busing make you move?	yes	mostly		yes	yes
16.how many yrs. would children have been bused?	2 yrs each	2 years	2 for 2 years 1 for 1 year	1 was, 2 yrs. each	3 years total for both
17.% Black neighbors before move?	0-5%	20-30%	0-5% 3 families	20-30%	10-20%
18. further comments?		originally from Taylor Cty, wanted to move back	didn't want children to be bused	distance & poor ed for child who was bused, won't go back	nature lovers JC getting too crowded

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QUESTIONS:	Interview A6	Interview A7	Interview A8	Interview A9	Interview A10
1.# moves in last 10 yrs?	1	3	3	5	3
2.renting/ buying now?	buying	buying	buying	buying	buying
3.renting/buying befo.e?	buying	buying	buying	buying	buying
4.how long planning move?	2 years	1 year	6 months	1 year	2 years
5.why move?	busing	busing & better educ.	schools busing	busing	busing
6.job? h	self-employ	adv.-own bus	Ford/maintns	truck driver	railroad, car
w			adult ed teach		man
7.job travel now for h?	no more than before	23 miles 40 minutes	30 miles 35-40 minutes	35-40 miles	23 miles 30 minutes
job travel now for w?					
8.job travel before for h?		12 miles 15 minutes	20 miles 25 minutes	?	10-12 miles 20 minutes
job travel before for w?					
9.educ for h?	12th grade	4 yr college	college grad	12th grade	12th grade
educ for w?	12th grade	3 yrs college	nurses trng	business scl	12th grade
10.religion?	catholic	protestant	prot/catholic	protestant	protestant
11.children?	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade
	19 m 18 f 12 15 f 9	20 f 17 m 12 16 m 11 15 m 10	11 f 6 9 f 4	7 m 1 8 f 2	10 f 5 3 m
12.kind of school now attending?	public	public	public	public	public
13. before move, exempt or nonexempt?	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt
14. how many of children were to be bused?	none	all 3	both	both	1
15. did busing make you move?	yes, was a bus driver in Jefferson Cty	yes	yes	yes	yes, only reason
16.how many yrs. would children have been bused?	none	2 years each	1 for 1 yr 1 for 2 yrs	2 year	1 year
17.% Black neighbors before move?	0%	1 family	1 family	0-5%	0%, 3 families were moving in
18. further comments?	all children affected by busing	not Blacks that made them move, wanted better schools & felt rights violated	like schools in Oldham Cty, wanted dif. house, home/school was getting bad		

QUESTIONS:	Interview B1	Interview B2	Interview B3	Interview	Interview
1.# moves in last 10 yrs?	2	7	1		
2.renting/ buying now?	buying	buying	renting, share cropping		
3.renting/buying before?	buying	buying	renting		
4.how long planning move?	2 yrs, wanted farm	1-1½ yrs	3 yrs		
5.why move?	raises collies, busing	wanted big house, built	wanted rural, busing hurried		
6.job? h	Kroger	GE Assembly	auto parts		
w	raises collies	Woolco	pkging service		
7.job travel now for h?	30 miles 45 minutes	15 miles 20-25 minutes	32 miles 30 minutes		
job travel now for w?		20-25 miles 30 minutes	32 miles 30 minutes		
8.job travel before for h?	15-20 miles 1 hour	15 minutes	12 miles 20-25 min.		
job travel before for w?		same as before	12 miles 20-25 min.		
9.educ for h?	2 yrs college	12th grade	9th grade		
educ for w?	12th grade	12th grade	G.E.D.		
10.religion?	catholic	catholic	protestant		
11.children?	age/sex/grade 14 f 8 12 m 6 10 f 5 7 m 2	age/sex/grade 8 f 3 9 m 3	age/sex/grade 12 f 5 10 m 4 4 m	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade
12.kind of school now attending?	public	public	public		
13. before move, exempt or nonexempt?	non-exempt	redistricted, reclassified Sunshine to	non-exempt		
14. how many of children were to be bused?	all 4	Price both	2		
15. did busing make you move?	yes	no, yes & no wrote 2 contracts in JC	yes		
16.how many yrs. would children have been bused?	5 years each 2 yrs 1st & 2nd	(see comments) 2 years	2 each		
17.% Black neighbors before move?	0-5%	0-5% sold to 1st Blacks	20%		
18. further comments?	old house, long bus ride, no desk in class, love country	busing a deciding factor on final choice	she's glad she moved, children like school		

QUESTIONS:	Interview C1	Interview C2	Interview C3	Interview C4	Interview C5
1.# moves in last 10 yrs?	4	1	1	4	1
2.renting/ buying now?	buying	buying	buying	buying	buying
3.renting/buying before?	renting	buying	renting	buying	buying
4.how long planning move?	3-4 years	a long time	raised rent, didn't want move	3 years	5-6 years
5.why move?	closer to work	wanted farm and country	decided to buy	bought 100 acre farm	prefer rural to sub-div.
6.job? h	chicken fctry	teacher JC	maintenance	tool maker GE	Cinc. Flooring
w	" "	" "			housewife
7.job travel now for h?	10-15 minutes	25 miles 35 minutes	16 miles 30-60 min	40 miles 1 hour/carpool	travel all over state
job travel now for w?		25 miles 35 minutes			
8.job travel before for h?	35-40 minutes	8 miles 20 minutes	less than 8 minutes	10 miles 10-15 minutes	same
job travel before for w?		8 miles 20 minutes			
9.educ for h?	12th grade	college grad	12th grade	2½ yrs college	9th grade
educ for w?	8th grade	college grad	11th grade	business scl	12th grade
10.religion?	catholic	protestant	protestant	prot/catholic	protestant
11.children?	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade
	9 f 4 8 m 2 5 m	11 m 6 8 f 3	13 m 8	8 m 3 3 m	16 f 10 15 m 8 12 m 6
12.kind of school now attending?	public	public	public	public	public
13. before move, exempt or nonexempt?	exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt
14. how many of children were to be bused?	none	1	none	all	none
15. did busing make you move?	no	no-bused, had good year	no	no	no
16.how many yrs. would children have been bused?	none	2 each	zero	2-3 years	past busing age, maybe 1
17.% Black neighbors before move?	0-5%	0%	0%	10%	0-5%
18. further comments?				bought farm before busing issue came up	

QUESTIONS:	Interview C6	Interview C7	Interview C8	Interview C9	Interview C10
1.# moves in last 10 yrs?	4-5	1	1	1	3
2.renting/ buying now?	buying	buying	buying	buying	renting
3.renting/buying before?	renting	buying	buying	owned	renting
4.how long planning move?	hadn't planed to move	looking for some time	7 years	3 years	
5.why move?	house leased rent too high	wanted bigger house & rural	want rural church Wstprt	want rural out of city	transferred
6.job? h	gutters	Int. Harvester	self-empl	truck driver	
w	Convenient	housewife		teacher/Hardn	
7.job travel now for h?	15 miles 15 minutes	40 minutes		45 miles 60 minutes	
job travel now for w?	8 miles 10 minutes			7 miles	
8.job travel before for h?	30 miles 30 minutes	20 minutes		12 miles 30-45 minutes	
job travel before for w?	8 miles 10 minutes				
9.educ for h?	12th grade	12th grade	12th grade	11th grade	
educ for w?	11th grade	12th grade	11th grade	college grad	
10.religion?	catholic	catholic	protestant	protestant	
11.children?	age/sex/grade 9 m 4 8 f 3 8 f 3 7 m 1 5 f	age/sex/grade 15 m 10 14 m 8 10 m 4 8 m 2	age/sex/grade 16 m 11 15 m 8 13 f 8 6 f 1	age/sex/grade 11 f 6 9 f 3	age/sex/grade
12.kind of school now attending?	public	public	public	public	
13. before move, exempt or nonexempt?	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt	non-exempt	
14. how many of children were to be bused?	3	2	none	both one was bused	
15. did busing make you move?	no	not really	bought before busing	no, already had land but moved faster	no
16.how many yrs. would children have been bused?	1-2 years	1 or 2	none	1-1 yr 1-2 yr	
17.% Black neighbors before move?	20-30%	0-5%	0-5%	0-5%	
18. further comments?		I'm glad I Moved.	I like farm life		

QUESTIONS:	InterviewC11	InterviewC12	Interview	Interview	Interview
1.# moves in last 10 yrs?	15 times in past 2 years	1			
2.renting/ buying now?		buying			
3.renting/buying before?		owned			
4.how long planning move?	never planned	spur of moment			
5.why move?	personal reasons	changed jobs for country			
6.job? h		unemployed			
w					
7.job travel now for h?					
job travel now for w?					
8.job travel before for h?					
job travel before for w?					
9.educ for h?		12th grade			
educ for w?		12th grade			
10.religion?		catholic			
11.children?	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade 17 m 10 15 m 9 14 f 9 13 m 8	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade	age/sex/grade
12.kind of school now attending?		public			
13. before move, exempt or nonexempt?		non-exempt			
14. how many of children were to be bused?		1 child was bused			
15. did busing make you move?		no, but didn't like busing			
16.how many yrs. would children have been bused?		1 year			
17.% Black neighbors before move?		10-20%, doesn't mind children in school w. Blacks			
18. further comments?		wanted to move to country where he was raised			

APPENDIX F

PARENT SURVEYS

NON-PUBLIC PARENTS SURVEY

INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is _____ from the University of Louisville. May I please speak to _____? I'm part of a group that is conducting a survey of school attendance patterns, both public and private. Your child_____'s name has been randomly selected from a list provided by the Jefferson County School System. All information will be held in confidence, and you may refuse to answer any of the questions asked. It should not take more than 15 minutes.

Let's begin with a few general questions about your family.

IF RESPONDENT QUESTIONS INTERVIEWER, RESPOND WITH ONE OF THE STOCK ANSWERS. IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO TALK WITH YOU, THANK THEM FOR THEIR TIME AND SAY GOODBYE.

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1. How long have you lived at your present address?

Less than 1 year	1
1 - 2 years	2
3 - 5 years	3
6 - 10 years	4
More than 10 years	5
All my life	6
Not Sure/NR	9

2. How many children do you have?

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8 or more	8
NR	9

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3. How many of these children are school age, grades 1 - 12?

IF ONLY ONE CHILD, ASK
Is this child school age, grades 1 - 12 ?

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8 or more	8
NR	9

Now let's discuss for a moment your opinions on some very important community issues.

4. Generally speaking, which do you favor?

READ CATEGORIES

Full racial integration	1
Integration in some areas of life	2
Separation of the races	3
Not sure	8
NR	9

5. In principle, do you think that it is a good idea or a bad idea for children to go to schools that have about the same proportion of blacks and whites as generally exists in Louisville -Jefferson County?

Good idea	1
Bad idea	2
Not sure	8
NR	9

6. To what extent do you favor or oppose busing to achieve racial desegregation as it has been put into effect here in Louisville and Jefferson County?

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READ CATEGORIES

Strongly favor	1
Somewhat favor	2
Somewhat oppose	3
Strongly oppose	4
Not sure	8
NR	9

SKIP TO QUESTION # 8
GO ON TO QUESTION # 7
SKIP TO QUESTION # 8

7. IF SOMEWHAT OR STRONGLY OPPOSED ONLY / Are you opposed to busing in all cases--or could you foresee a situation in which some type of busing program might be acceptable for achieving racial desegregation in Louisville-Jefferson County schools?

Opposed in all cases	1
Could foresee	2
Not sure	3
NA	4
NR	5

8. How would you judge the present quality of education of the Louisville-Jefferson County Public School System?
READ CATEGORIES

Very satisfactory	1
Satisfactory	2
Unsatisfactory	3
Very unsatisfactory	4
Don't know/Not sure	5
NR	6

9. Since busing to achieve racial desegregation was put into effect, in general, do you feel the quality of education received by white students in Louisville-Jefferson County has:
READ CATEGORIES

Improved?	1
Worsened?	2
Remained the same?	3
Don't know/Not sure	4
NR	5

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your school age children (child):

10. IF RESPONDENT HAS MORE THAN ONE CHILD, ASK / How many of your children have been scheduled to be bused sometime during their school years?

IF RESPONDENT HAS ONE CHILD, ASK / Was your child scheduled to be bused sometime during his/her school years?
IF ANSWER IS "YES", CODE AS #2
IF ANSWER IS "NO", CODE AS #1

0	(NO)	1
1	(YES)	2
2		3
3		4
4		5
5		6
6		7
7 or more		8
NR		9

11. IF RESPONDENT HAS MORE THAN ONE CHILD, ASK / Did any of your children in grades 1 - 12 attend private schools prior to the Fall of 1975?

IF RESPONDENT HAS ONE CHILD ONLY, ASK / Did your child attend private schools prior to the Fall of 1975?

Yes	1
No	2
NR	3

Let's talk about your child _____ now. He/she is in the the _____ grade isn't he/she?

12. What is the name of your child's present school?

_____

WRITE NAME OF SCHOOL ON CODING FORM; CODE LATER

NR 999

13. What yeardid this child begin in his present school?

SKIP TO QUESTION # 14 → Before Fall '75 / School year '75-'76 / School year '76-'77 / Fall '77 / NR

13 a. IF FALL '77 At what school was he/she enrolled in the fall of last year ('76)?

WRITE NAME OF SCHOOL ON CODING FORM; CODE LATER
Don't know/Not sure
NA
NR

IF RESPONSE IS A PUBLIC SCHOOL, TERMINATE THE INTERVIEW AT THIS POINT WITH THE FOLLOWING: "That's all the questions I have. Thank you very much for participating.

13 b. Was this school desegregated?

IF ANSWER TO #13a WAS "DON'T KNOW" OR "NOT SURE", ASK Could you perhaps recall if the school was desegregated?

Yes
No
Don't know/NR
NA

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13 c. IF YES What do you think was the percentage of black students in the school?

0 - 10%
11 - 20%
21 - 30%
31 - 40%
41 - 50%
Over 50%
Don't know/Not sure
NA
NR

154

Now, if you can think back with me for just a moment.

14. Two years ago, in Fall 1975, what school did this child attend?

WRITE NAME OF SCHOOL ON CODING FORM; CODE LATER
Don't know/Not sure
NR

14 a. What do you think was the percentage of black students in _____ (name of school)?

IF ANSWER TO #14 IS "DON'T KNOW/ NOT SURE", ASK Could you perhaps recall the percentage of black students in that school?

0 - 10%
11 - 20%
21 - 30%
31 - 40%
41 - 50%
Over 50%
Don't know/Not sure
NR

Now, if you can think back even a bit further.

15. Prior to court-ordered desegregation, had you thought about enrolling this child in a non-public school?

Yes
No
NR

159

Let's talk for a moment about this child's experience when he/she was in the public school system.

16. How would you rate this child's educational performance in the public schools?
READ CATEGORIES

Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Don't know/Not sure	5
NR	9

17. Has this child ever been bused for desegregation purposes?

Yes	1
No	2
NR	9

18. Would this child have been bused last year if he (she) had remained in a public school?

Yes	1
No	2
NR	9

SKIP TO Q. # 19

18 a. IF YES To what school?

_____

WRITE NAME OF SCHOOL ON CODING FORM; CODE LATER

NA	777
NR	999

Now let's talk about your child's experience in the non-public school.

19. What is the one most important reason why you decided to send this child to _____?
(name of non-public school)

WRITE IN ACTUAL RESPONSE ON FORM; CODE LATER

Bus ride	1
Desegregation of classes	2
Quality of education	3
Self-interest	4
Religion	5
Education/Behavior probs.	6
Other	7
NR	8

20. Does he (she) ride a bus to school now?

Yes	1
No	2
NR	9

21. If your child had remained in the public school system, he (she) would be attending classes with children of a different race. Was this situation a factor in your decision to enroll your child in _____?
(name of non-public school)

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/Not sure	3
NR	9

22. How would you rate the education provided by _____ as compared
(name of non-public school)
to that provided by the public schools?
READ CATEGORIES

Better	1
Somewhat better	2
About the same	3
Somewhat worse	4
Worse	5
NR	9

Just a few more questions, and we will be finished.

23. What is the last grade you completed?

8th or less	1
HS, incomplete	2
HS, complete	3
Trade, Tech. or Business	4
College, incomplete	5
College, complete	6
Some graduate	7
NA	8
NR	9

23. (cont'd.) And the last grade your husband (wife) completed?

8th or less	1
HS, incomplete	2
HS, complete	3
Trade, Tech. or Business	4
College, incomplete	5
College, complete	6
Some graduate	7
NA	8
NR	9

24. What is your occupation?

WRITE SPECIFIC OCCUPATION ON CODING FORM; CODE LATER

Unskilled	1
Skilled	2
Clerical	3
Professional	4
Unemployed, Retired Housewife	5
Other	6
NA	8
NR	9

And the occupation of your husband (wife)?

WRITE SPECIFIC OCCUPATION ON CODING FORM; CODE LATER

Unskilled	1
Skilled	2
Clerical	3
Professional	4
Unemployed, Retire, Housewife	5
Other	6
NA	8
NR	9

25. What is your family's religion?

WRITE NAME OF SPECIFIC RELIGION ON CODING FORM

Protestant	1
Catholic	2
Jewish	3
Other	4
None	5
NR	9

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26. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total family income before taxes for 1976. Stop me when I have read the category that best describes your total family income.

Under $ 7,000	1
$7,000 to $9,999	2
$10,000 to $14,999	3
$15,000 to $19,999	4
$20,000 to $24,999	5
$25,000 to $34,999	6
$35,000 to $50,000	7
$50,000 and above	8
NR	9

27. RECORD SEX OF RESPONDENT; DO NOT ASK!

Male	1
Female	2

28. What is your age?

IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO ANSWER, ASK "Could you stop me when I read the category which best describes your age."

Under 25	1
25 - 30	2
31 - 40	3
41 - 50	4
Over 50	5
NR	9

29. That's all the questions I have.

Do you have any comments you wish to make about anything we've talked about?

WRITE IN COMPLETE SENTENCES ON CODING FORM

Thank you very much for participating. We certainly appreciate your assistance.

OUT OF COUNTY PARENTS SURVEY

INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is _____ from the University of Louisville. May I please speak to _____? I'm part of a group that is conducting a survey of families who have moved from Jefferson County to a nearby county. Your child _____'s name was randomly selected from a list, provided by the Jefferson County School System, of people who have moved within the past two years. All information will be held in confidence, and you may refuse to answer any of the questions asked. It should not take more than 15 minutes. If you have a few minutes I'll begin.

Let's start with a few general questions about your change in residence.

1. How many changes in residence have you had in the last ten (10) years?

IF RESPONDENT HAS NOT MOVED AT ALL, TERMINATE BY SAYING: "This survey is only concerned with families who have changed their residences recently. There is no need to ask you any more questions. Thank you for your willingness to cooperate."

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
NR	
NA	

2. Do you own or rent your home?

Own	
Rent	
Other	
NR	

3. Did you own or rent you home in Jefferson County?

Own	
Rent	
Other	
NR	

4. Prior to court ordered desegregation, had you been planning to move?

Yes	
No	
NR	

5. What is the one most important reason why you decided to move?

WRITE IN EXACT ANSWER; CODE LATER

To Avoid Busing	
To Avoid Desegregation	
Proximity to Work/Family	
Quality of Jefferson Co. Education	
Economics (cheaper housing, etc.)	
Job Opportunities	
Better Housing	
Other	
NR	

6. What would you guess the percentage of black people in your former neighborhood to be?

1 - 10%	
11 - 20%	
21 - 30%	
31 - 40%	
41 - 50%	
more than 51%	
Not Sure	
No Response	

7. What would you guess the percentage of black people in your new neighborhood to be?

1 - 10%	
11 - 20%	
21 - 30%	
31 - 40%	
41 - 50%	
more than 51%	
Not Sure	
No Response	

NOW, LET'S DISCUSS FOR A MOMENT YOUR OPINIONS ON SOME IMPORTANT COMMUNITY ISSUES.

8. Generally speaking, which do you favor?

READ CATEGORIES

Full racial integration	
Integration in some areas of life	
Separation of the races	
Not Sure	
NR	

9. Do you think it is a good idea for black and white students to go to school together in a racial proportion that represents the community?

Yes	
No	
Not Sure	
NR	

10. To what extent do you favor or oppose busing to achieve racial desegregation as it has been put into effect here in Louisville and Jefferson County?

READ CATEGORIES

SKIP TO QUESTION #12	Strongly Favor	[1]
	Somewhat Favor	[2]
GO ON TO QUESTION #11	Somewhat Oppose	[3]
	Strongly Oppose	[4]
SKIP TO QUESTION #12	Not Sure	[5]
	NR	[0]

11. IF SOMEWHAT OR STRONGLY OPPOSED ONLY: Are you opposed to busing in all cases--or could you foresee a situation in which some type of busing program might be acceptable for achieving racial desegregation in Louisville-Jefferson County schools?

Opposed in all cases	[1]
Could Foresee	[2]
Not Sure	[3]
Not Applicable	[4]
NR	[0]

12. How would you judge the present quality of education of the Louisville-Jefferson County Public School System?

READ CATEGORIES

Very Satisfactory	[1]
Satisfactory	[2]
Unsatisfactory	[3]
Very unsatisfactory	[4]
Don't Know/Not Sure	[5]
NR	[0]

13. Since busing to achieve racial desegregation was put into effect, in general, do you feel the quality of education received by white students in Louisville-Jefferson County has:

READ CATEGORIES

Improved	[1]
Worsened	[2]
Remained the Same	[3]
Don't Know/Not Sure	[5]
NR	[0]

NOW, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN.

14. How many children do you have?

1	[1]
2	[2]
3	[3]
4	[4]
5	[5]
6	[6]
7	[7]
8 or more	[8]
NR	[0]

15. How many of these children are school age, grades 1 - 12?

1	[1]
2	[2]
3	[3]
4	[4]
5	[5]
6	[6]
7	[7]
8 or more	[8]
NR	[0]

16. What kind of school does your child _____ attend?

READ CATEGORIES

Public	[1]
Religious	[2]
Independent Private	[3]
Other	[4]
NR	[0]

17. Has this child ever been bused for desegregation purposes?

Yes	[1]
No	[2]
NR	[0]

18. Would this child have been bused this year if you hadn't moved?

Yes	[1]
No	[2]
NR	[0]

19. Does he/she ride a bus to school now?

Yes	1
No	2
NR	9

20. If your child had remained in the Jefferson County Public School he/she would be attending classes with children of a different race. Was this situation a factor in your decision to leave Jefferson County?

Yes	1
No	2
Not Sure	3
NR	9

21. How would you rate the education provided by (name of school) as compared to that provided by Jefferson County Public Schools?

READ CATEGORIES

Better	1
Somewhat Better	2
About the Same	3
Somewhat Worse	4
Worse	5
Unsure	8
NR	9

22. Within Jefferson County there were areas that were exempt from busing. That is, the racial balance is such that the children in that area are not bused. Did you live in an exempt or non-exempt area in the Jefferson County School System?

Exempt	1
Non-exempt	2
Not Sure	3
NR	9

23. During their years in school, how many of your children were scheduled to be bused if you had stayed in Jefferson County?

0	1
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	5
5	6
6	7
7 or more	8
NR	9

24. Since court ordered desegregation, all public schools have both black and white children attending. To what extent did this situation influence your decision to move?

READ CATEGORIES

Strongly Influenced	1
Somewhat Influenced	2
No influence	3
NR	9

25. Since court ordered desegregation, a county-wide busing plan has been in effect. To what extent did this situation influence your decision to move?

READ CATEGORIES

Strongly Influenced	1
Somewhat Influenced	2
No influence	3
NR	9

JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS, AND WE'LL BE FINISHED!

26. What is the last grade you completed?

8th or less	1
HS, incomplete	2
HS, complete	3
Trade, Tech or Business	4
College, Incomplete	5
College complete	6
Some graduate	7
Not Applicable	8
NR	9

And the last grade your husband (wife) completed?

8th or less	1
HS, incomplete	2
HS, complete	3
Trade, Tech or Business	4
College, Incomplete	5
College complete	6
Some graduate	7
Not Applicable	8
NR	9

27. What is your occupation?

WRITE SPECIFIC OCCUPATION ON CODING FORM: CODE LATER

Unskilled	1
Skilled	2
Clerical	3
Professional	4
Unemployed, Retired, Housewife	5
Other	6
Not Applicable	8
NR	9

And the occupation of your husband (wife)?

WRITE SPECIFIC OCCUPATION ON CODING FORM: CODE LATER

- Unskilled [1]
- Skilled [2]
- Clerical [3]
- Professional [4]
- Unemployed, Retired, Housewife [5]
- Other [6]
- Not Applicable [7]
- NR [8]

28. What is your family's religion?

WRITE NAME OF SPECIFIC RELIGION ON CODING FORM

- Protestant [1]
- Catholic [2]
- Jewish [3]
- Other [4]
- None [5]
- NR [8]

29. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total family income before taxes for 1977. Stop me when I have read the category that best describes your total family income.

- Under $7,000 [1]
- $7,000 to $9,999 [2]
- $10,000 to $14,999 [3]
- $15,000 to $19,999 [4]
- $20,000 to $24,999 [5]
- $25,000 to $34,999 [6]
- $35,000 to $50,000 [7]
- $50,000 or above [8]
- NR [9]

30. RECORD SEX OF RESPONDENT; DO NOT ASK

- Male [1]
- Female [2]

31. What is your age? IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO ANSWER, ASK: "Could you stop me when I read the category which best describes your age?"

- Under 25 [1]
- 25 - 30 [2]
- 31 - 40 [3]
- 41 - 50 [4]
- Over 50 [5]
- NR [8]

32. What is your race?

- White [1]
- Black [2]
- Other [3]
- NR [8]

That's all the questions I have.

Is there anything you would care to add about your reasons for moving?

WRITE IN COMPLETE SENTENCES ON CODING FORM

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING. WE CERTAINLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE.

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SURVEY FOR IN-COUNTY MOVES

1. ENTER I.D. CODE #

Hello. My name is _____ from the University of Louisville. May I please speak to _____

I'm part of a group that is conducting a survey of school attendance patterns. Your child _____'s name has been randomly selected from a list provided by the Jefferson County School System. All information will be held in confidence, and you may refuse to answer any of the questions asked.
It should not take more than 15 minutes, and your participation is very important.

Let's begin with a few general questions.

IF RESPONDENT QUESTIONS INTERVIEWER, RESPOND WITH ONE OF THE STOCK ANSWERS. IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO TALK WITH YOU, THANK THEM FOR THEIR TIME AND SAY GOOD-BYE.

2. SEX OF RESPONDENT IS

Male
Female

3. How long have you lived at your present address?

Less than 1 yr.
1 - 2 years
3 - 4 years
5 years or more
Unsure/NR

IF LESS THAN 4 YEARS, PROCEED WITH INTERVIEW.
IF " 5 YEARS OR MORE," SAY:
"This survey is only concerned with information about families who have changed their residence. There is no need to ask you any more questions. Thank you very much for your willingness to cooperate."

4. Did you live in Louisville-Jefferson County before your move?

Yes
No
NR

IF "YES", PROCEED WITH INTERVIEW.
IF "NO", ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION AND RECORD RESPONSE VERBATIM ON BACK OF CODESHEET:

"In what way, if any, did the desegregation-busing plan in Louisville-Jefferson County influence your choice of housing or neighborhood?"

THEN SAY: "Since this survey is primarily concerned with information about families who have moved within Louisville-Jefferson County, there is no need to ask you any more questions. Thank you very much for your willingness to cooperate.

5. Did your move mean a change of schools for your children?

Yes
No
Children not in school before
NR

IF "YES", PROCEED WITH INTERVIEW.
IF "NO", SAY:
"This survey is only concerned with families whose recent moves have meant changes in school for their children. Thank you very much for your willingness to cooperate."

6. How many changes of residence have you had in the last 10 years?

1
2
3
4
5 or more
NR

7. Do you rent or own your home?

Own
Rent
Other

8. Are you using some sort of subsidy or rental assistance plan?

Yes	1
No	2
NR	3

9. How many children do you have?

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8 or more	8
NR	9

10. How many of these children are school age, grades 1-12?

IF ONLY ONE CHILD, ASK Is this child school age, grades 1-12?

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8 or more	8
NR	9

Now let's discuss for a moment your opinions on some very important community issues.

11. Generally speaking, which do you favor?

READ CATEGORIES

Full racial integration	1
Integration in some areas of life	2
Separation of the races	3
Not sure	4
NR	5

12. Do you think it is a good idea for black and white students to go to school together in a racial proportion that represents the community?

Yes	1
No	2
Unsure	3
NR	4

13. To what extent do you favor or or oppose busing to achieve racial desegregation as it has been put into effect here in Louisville-Jefferson County?

READ CATEGORIES

Strongly favor	1
Somewhat favor	2
Somewhat oppose	3
Strongly oppose	4
Unsure	5
NR	6

SKIP TO Q.# 15

GO ON TO Q. # 14

SKIP TO QUESTION # 15

14. IF SOMEWHAT OR STRONGLY OPPOSED ONLY Are you opposed to busing in all cases--or could you foresee a situation in which some type of busing program might be acceptable in Louisville-Jefferson County public schools?

Opposed in all cases	1
Could foresee	2
Unsure	3
NA	4
NR	5

15. How would you judge the present quality of education of the Louisville-Jefferson County Public School System?

READ CATEGORIES

Very satisfactory	1
Satisfactory	2
Unsatisfactory	3
Very unsatisfactory	4
Unsure	5
NR	6

16. Since busing to achieve racial desegregation was put into effect, in general, do you feel the quality of education received by white students in Louisville-Jefferson County has:

READ CATEGORIES

Improved
Worsened
Remained the same
Unsure
NR

17. Since busing to achieve racial desegregation was put into effect, in general, do you feel the quality of education received by black students in Louisville-Jefferson County has:

READ CATEGORIES

Improved
Worsened
Remained the same
Unsure
NR

Let's talk about your child _____ now. He (She) is in the _____grade, isn't he (she)?

18. Has this child ever been bused for desegregation purposes?

Yes
No
NR

19. In general, how would you rate your child's present school as compared to the one he (she) previously attended?

READ CATEGORIES

Better
Somewhat better
About the same
Somewhat worse
Worse
Unsure
NR
NA

20. If you had not moved, how many years would your child _____ have been bused?

None
1 - 2
3 - 4
5 - 6
7 - 8
9 - 10
Unsure
NR

21. Now that you have moved, how many years will your child _____ be bused?

None
1 - 2
3 - 4
5 - 6
7 - 8
9 - 10
Unsure
NR

22. Within Jefferson County, there are areas that are exempt from busing. That is, the racial balance is such that the children in that area are not bused. Did you live in an exempt area prior to your move?

Yes
No
Unsure
NR

23. Since your family made a move fairly recently, did this mean a achange of neighborhoods for you?

Yes
No
Unsure
NR

IF "YES", PROCEED TO NEXT QUESTION.
IF "NO", SKIP TO Q. 26.

24. [ONLY IF YES] What would you guess the percentage of black families in your former neighborhood to be?

0 - 10%
11 - 20%
21 - 30%
31 - 40%
41 - 50%
51% and above
Unsure
NA
NR

25. [ONLY IF YES] Was your family in the racial minority in your previous neighborhood?

Yes
No
Unsure
NA
NR

26. What would you guess the percentage of black families in your present neighborhood to be?

0 - 10%
11 - 20%
21 - 30%
31 - 40%
41 - 50%
51% and above
Unsure
NR

27. Is your family in the racial minority in your present neighborhood?

Yes
No
Unsure
NR

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the move you made.

28. Prior to court-ordered desegregation had you been planning to move?

Yes
No
NR

29. What would you say is the one most important reason why you decided to move?

[ASK OPEN-ENDED WRITE ANSWER VERBATIM. CODE LATER]

Avoidance of Busing
Desegregated Environment
Proximity to Work
Better School
Better House (more space, apt.to home,etc.)
Housing Assistance
Better Neighborhood
Other
NR

30. Since court-ordered desegregation, all public schools have both black and white children attending. To what extent did this situation influence your decision to move?

[READ CATEGORIES]

Strongly influence
Somewhat influence
No influence at all
NR

31. Since court-ordered desegregation, a county-wide busing plan has been in effect. To what extent did this situation influence your decision to move?

[READ CATEGORIES]

Strongly influence
Somewhat influence
No influence at all
NR

32. To what extent did the availability of financial housing assistance influence your decision to move?

Strongly influenced	1
Somewhat influenced	2
No influence at all	3
NR	9

Just a few more questions and we'll be finished.

33. What is the last grade you completed?

8th or less	1
HS, incomplete	2
HS, complete	3
Trade, tech, or business	4
College, incomplete	5
College, complete	6
Some graduate	7
NA	8
NR	0

What is the last grade your (wife) (husband) completed?

8th or less	1
HS, incomplete	2
HS, complete	3
Trade, tech or bus.	4
College, incompete	5
College, complete	6
Some graduate	7
NA	8
NR	9

34. What is your occupation?

WRITE IN OCCUPATION CODE LATER

Unskilled	1
Skilled	2
Clerical	3
Professional	4
Unemployed, retired housewife	5
Other	6
NA	8
NR	9

And the occupation of your (wife)? (husband) ?

WRITE IN OCCUPATION CODE LATER

Unskilled	1
Skilled	2
Clerical	3
Professional	4
Unemployed, retired	5
Other	6
NA	8
NR	9

35. What is your family's religion?

Protestant	1
Catholic	2
Jewish	3
Other	4
None	5
NR	9

36. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total family income before taxes for 1977. Stop me when I have read the category that best describes your total family income.

Under $7,000	1
$7,000 to $9,999	2
$10,000 to $14,999	3
$15,000 to $19,999	4
$20,000 to $24,999	5
$25,000 to $34,999	6
$35,000 to $50,000	7
$50,000 and above	8
NR	9

37. What is your age?
IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO ANSWER, ASK Could you stop me when I read the category which best describes your age.

Under 25	1
25 - 30	2
31 - 40	3
41 - 50	4
Over 50	5
NR	9

38. What is your race?

White
Black
Other
NA

That's all the questions I have.

Do you have any comments you wish to make about anything we've talked about?

IF SO, WRITE IN COMPLETE SENTENCES ON BACK OF CODING FORM

Thank you very much for participating.
We certainly appreciate your assistance.

STOCK ANSWERS

IF RESPONDENT SAYS:	ANSWER:
1. Who exactly is doing this survey?	This survey is being done by a research division of the University of Louisville. It is a 3 yr. federally funded project. We're trying to get some idea about student enrollment patterns in Louisville and Jefferson County.
2. Who are you exactly?	I'm a student working as an interviewer for the U of L.
3. I still need to know more about this.	The people in charge of the survey will be glad to explain it to you. Dr. Bill Husk at 581-4565 can be contacted for this purpose.
4. How did you get my child's name? (Why am I being interviewed?)	(He/She) was selected by chance according to a system worked out by the University. Your opinions are very important. (Interviewing someone else wouldn't be as good).
5. He doesn't have time to talk.	The questions won't take long. I'll just run through them quickly.
6. If respondent balks at answering	We would appreciate your cooperation; your opinions are a very valuable part of our work. Could I possibly call back at a more convenient time?
7. I don't know enough to answer your questions.	It's not what you know - it's what you <u>think</u> about certain things that are important.
8. What are you going to do with my answers?	The general results will be included in a narrative report. A lot of people are being asked these same questions, and <u>all</u> answers will be kept strictly confidential. We are interested in these questions only to see what a lot of people generally are thinking about.
9. I don't want to answer that.	Of course, you don't have to answer any question if you'd rather not. I'm only trying to get your opinion because our study is more accurate that way.

STOCK ANSWERS (continued)

10. What do you mean by that?	I'm sorry, Sir(Ma'am), I am not allowed to explain the questions. We're interested in your answer to the question just as it was read.
11. Why did you want to talk about my <u>(# of grade)</u> grade child?	Although your name as a parent is being utilized for the interview, it came to us through the random selection of your <u>(# of grade)</u> grade child's name.
12. If respondent asks a question relative to Judge Gordon's "crackdown" on students avoiding busing	On October 15, Judge Gordon announced in the local newspapers he would not attempt to punish those students who left the public schools to avoid being bused.

APPENDIX G

JEFFERSON COUNTY WHITE STUDENT ENROLLMENT
END OF FIRST MONTH
AND
AGGREGATE BIRTHS 1948-78

WHITE AGGREGATE BIRTHS FOR
LOUISVILLE-JEFFERSON COUNTY
1943-54/1961-72

JEFFERSON COUNTY WHITE STUDENT ENROLLMENT
END OF FIRST MONTH
GRADES 1 - 12
AND
AGGREGATE BIRTHS 1948-78

SCHOOL YEAR	PUBLIC	NON-PUBLIC	TOTAL WHITE ENROLLMENT	WHITE AGGREGATE BIRTHS	BIRTH YEARS	TOTAL WHITE ENROLLMENT AS % OF AGGREGATE BIRTHS
65-66	95,691	46,165	141,856	149,330	1948-59	94.99
66-67	99,924	44,622	144,546	152,175	1949-60	94.99
67-68	107,340	39,447	146,787	154,353	1950-61	95.10
68-69	110,500	36,105	146,705	156,177	1951-61	93.93
69-70	113,115	34,654	147,769	156,584	1952-63	94.37
70-71	116,404	30,592	146,996	156,730	1953-64	93.79
71-72	116,324	28,933	145,257	155,340	1954-65	93.51
72-73	114,800	26,857	141,657	152,957	1955-66	92.61
73-74	111,131	25,718	136,849	150,055	1956-67	91.20
74-75	103,837	27,915	131,752	146,205	1957-68	90.11
75-76	92,081	30,329	122,410	142,594	1958-69	85.84
76-77	87,249	32,944	120,193	139,816	1959-70	85.96
77-78	82,141	33,991	116,132	136,706	1960-71	84.95
78-79	77,582	33,226	110,808	132,172	1961-72	83.84

WHITE AGGREGATE BIRTHS FOR
LOUISVILLE - JEFFERSON COUNTY

1943-54	127,205
1944-55	131,404
1945-56	137,039
1946-57	143,368
1947-58	146,960
1948-59	149,330
1949-60	152,175
1950-61	154,353
1951-62	156,177
1952-63	156,584
1953-64	156,730
1954-65	155,340
1955-66	152,957
1956-67	150,055
1957-68	146,205
1958-69	142,594
1959-70	139,816
1960-71	136,706
1961-72	132,172

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APPENDIX H

A STATEMENT ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION
FEBRUARY 27, 1974

RACIAL JUSTICE, SCHOOL DESEGREGATION,
AND RECONCILIATION
FEBRUARY 12, 1975

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS J. MCDONOUGH

February 27, 1974

A Statement On School Integration
by Archbishop Thomas J. McDonough

On December 28, 1973, the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ordered a desegregation plan prepared for the Louisville, Jefferson County, and Anchorage School Districts to go into effect at the beginning of the 1974-1975 school year.

This order presents a set of opportunities and problems to which all elements of our community are obliged to respond. I offer this statement on behalf of the Archdiocese of Louisville and the Catholic schools within the Archdiocese. I do so after consultation with the Archdiocesan School Board, the religious teaching orders who staff many of our Catholic schools, and representatives of various Archdiocesan agencies and commissions concerned with community issues.

As a background for my statement I cite the basic principle defined by the U. S. Supreme Court 20 years ago in one of the most momentous decisions in our national history: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." (Brown v. Topeka, May 17, 1954.) It is in the light of this principle that one must consider the following points which are contained in the text of the December 28 opinion of the Sixth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals:

1. The Jefferson County School District has 96,000 students, approximately four per cent of whom are black. Sixty-five per cent of all students are bused to school.

2. Between 1956-1957 and 1972-1973, the percentage of black students in the Louisville School District increased from 26.4 to 50.3. Over 80 per cent of the schools in the Louisville School District are racially identifiable.

3. The Supreme Court has ruled that a school district must "eliminate from the public schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation." A large number of racially identifiable schools in a school district that formerly practiced segregation by law gives rise to a presumption that this purpose has not been fulfilled.

4. A school board is required to take affirmative action to bar future discrimination and to see that no additional schools become "racially identifiable." It cannot be "neutral" in respect to student assignments.

5. The Court does not require use of any particular method nor approve in advance any particular device to eliminate all vestiges of state-imposed segregation in Jefferson County.

As one studies the Court order and notes with misgivings the controversy which it has sparked, it is impossible not to recall that in 1956 our community basked in the national limelight for its leadership in efficient and orderly public school desegregation. Eighteen years later, we must humbly and candidly ask the painful question: What has gone wrong?

The first thing that must be said in reply is that the issue which confronts us is not simply a "school problem." It is a community problem. It is a problem for whose creation and solution everyone in the community must accept a share of responsibility.

Attempts to fix blame "after the fact" are usually neither pleasant nor profitable exercises. But in the present situation we must reflect on the missed opportunities during the past 18 years to deal constructively as a community with the problem which now confronts us. One thinks of the rejection of promising plans of school merger, of invariable resistance to efforts to provide better distribution for low-cost housing throughout the metropolitan area, of a decaying public transportation system, of mere lip service given to fair employment and open-housing laws.

We have excellent reason to be proud of the progress our community has made in many areas in recent years. We have done well in terms of brick and mortar, but have our priorities been at fault? To borrow a word from the Circuit Court's decision have we been "neutral" about facing up to our most pressing human and social problems?

The present Court order for the desegregation of the public schools presents serious questions for our local Catholic schools, comprising as they do the largest private school system in the area. To deal with some of these questions in a concrete fashion, the Archdiocesan School Board has recommended, and I have approved, the following statement of principles and applications in respect to admission practices for our Catholic schools:

I. Principles

A. The basic purpose of Catholic schools is to assure that Catholic truths and values are fully integrated with the student's life and academic program. Students should not apply unless they desire and intend to participate fully in the religious program of the school.

B. Catholic schools must not become havens for those trying to escape integrated public schools.

C. Catholic schools should emphasize the broadening and enriching educational opportunities afforded in culturally and racially mixed school situations.

D. Catholic schools should continue and intensify their efforts actively to recruit teachers and enroll students to achieve racial integration.

E. No staff or program expansion, nor the addition of classrooms, will be permitted without explicit permission of the School Office.

F. Criteria for available student aid, work programs, grants, and scholarships shall continue to feature first consideration to students from low-income families. (Applicable to high schools only.)

II. Application of Principles

A. Priorities for Elementary Schools

In the admission of students to elementary schools, the order of priority shall be as follows. Within each classification, first consideration shall be given to the objective of furthering racial integration.

1. Children of active parishioners:
   a. children from families with children already enrolled
   b. children now reaching school age
   c. children from families newly moved into the parish whose children have been in Catholic schools where such were available.

2. Children from nonparish families with students already enrolled in the school.

3. Transfer students from other Catholic schools:
   a. from parish schools that are closing
   b. from parishes not offering full program, 1-8.

4. Children of other parishioners, may be admitted only if on the basis of personal interview the designated parish authority judges the intent and motivation to be in accord with the highest ideals of Catholic education, and with the explicit permission of the School Office.

5. Other students (Catholics from other areas, non-Catholic transfers) may be admitted only if on the basis of personal interview the designated parish authority judges the intent and motivation to be in accord with the highest ideals of Catholic education, and with the explicit permission of the School Office.

In accepting transfer students, classes may be filled but must not exceed State regulations.

B. Priorities for High Schools

In the admission of students to high schools, the order of priority shall be as follows. Within each classification, first consideration shall be given to the objective of furthering racial integration.

1. Brothers and sisters of students already enrolled.

2. Transfer students from Flaget High School.

3. Ninth grade students who are registered and active members of area parishes (perennial "feeder" schools).

4. Students from Catholic families relocating from other localities, who have been in Catholic schools where such were available.

5. Other Catholic students from area parishes may be admitted only if, on the basis of personal interview, the principal judges the intent and motivation to be in accord with the highest ideals of Catholic education.

6. Other students (Catholics from other areas, non-Catholic transfers) may be admitted only if, on the basis of personal interview, the principal judges the intent and motivation to be in accord with the highest ideals of Catholic education.

In announcing these guidelines, I emphasize the philosophy within which they have been formulated. I reaffirm the basic moral judgment concerning racial discrimination which was proclaimed by the Catholic Bishops of the United States in 1943, 1958, and 1963:

> We insist that the heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man . . . Discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color, and as such injurious to human rights, regardless of personal qualities or achievements, cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity.

> We reaffirm that segregation implies that people of one race are not fit to associate with another by sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities . . . . We cannot reconcile such a judgment with the Christian view of man's nature and rights.

In view of the gravity of the moral principle at issue, it will not be enough for our Catholic parishes and schools to decline to serve as havens for those trying to escape integrated schools or simply to refrain from staff or program expansion.

I wholeheartedly approve as official Archdiocesan policy the School Board's directive that Catholic schools actively should recruit teachers and enroll students to achieve racial integration, and that they should emphasize the enriching educational opportunities afforded in culturally and racially mixed school situations.

Furthermore, I remind the pastors and people of the Archdiocese that if Catholic school integration is to be more than mere paternalism or tokenism, racial integration must occur within the larger parish structure. Our parishes and their various organizations should make positive attempts to bring about neighborhood racial integration through effective open-housing policies. We should develop more effective "outreach" programs to serve disadvantaged minority groups.

I direct the Office of Catholic Schools and the Archdiocesan School Board to offer their service to all the schools of the Archdiocese to assist them in carrying out the policies stated above. I request that by September 1, 1974, these agencies submit to me a comprehensive report on the progress which has been made by the schools.

Similarly, I direct the Archdiocesan Commission on Peace and Justice to offer its services to our parishes in working towards the broader objectives of parish integration. I request a progress report by September 1, 1974.

The Archdiocese of Louisville, its schools, and its agencies stand ready to work with all other groups in the community in finding the best solutions to the challenge presented to us by the recent Sixth U. S. Circuit Court decision. By resolutely putting aside any temptations to an evasive "neutrality" in the face of the great social and moral issues of our time, we will prove worthy of the heritage of our faith and best serve the interest of our total community.

2/12/75

RACIAL JUSTICE, SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, AND RECONCILIATION

A Statement by Archbishop Thomas J. McDonough

On February 27, 1974, on behalf of the Archdiocese of Louisville and its schools, I issued a statement on school desegregation in Louisville and Jefferson County. A complex series of legal developments since that date leaves uncertain the exact nature and timing of further actions to remove from the public schools "all vestiges of state-imposed segregation." This temporary uncertainty, however, must not distract us from our continuing grave moral responsibility in respect to racial justice and school desegregation.

I again reaffirm my full support of repeated statements of the Catholic Bishops of the United States that segregation implies that members of one race are not fit for free association with others by the sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities. Such a judgment cannot be reconciled with the Christian view of man's nature and rights. (Cf. statements of Catholic Bishops of the United States of 1943, 1958, and 1963.)

As our schools are now involved in preregistration and program-planning for the next school year, I reemphasize the basic principles of last year's statement and reaffirm as Archdiocesan policy the guidelines for admission to Catholic schools. A summary of these guidelines is being sent to all pastors and school administrators in the Archdiocese.

Because of their importance, I wish to recall here three principles contained in last year's statement:

1. Catholic schools must not become havens for those trying to escape integrated public schools.

2. Catholic schools actively should recruit teachers and students to achieve racial integration.

3. Racial integration should be promoted not only in schools, but within parishes as a whole through neighborhood racial integration, the development of "outreach" service programs, and all other available means.

From reports which I have received, I judge that most of our Catholic schools have applied conscientiously and effectively the admissions guidelines established last year. I commend them for their efforts and ask their continuing commitment. In a few cases there may have been some confusion and inconsistency in interpreting the guidelines. I expect that every effort will be made to eliminate these problems so that in the coming year our Catholic schools will offer an uncompromising witness to the standards established by the Archdiocese.

I also wish to commend various positive efforts which have been made by the schools to promote racial integration and understanding; for example, the student exchange programs and the pilot program in black studies now being developed by the Office of Catholic Schools and a group of parochial schools. Also worthy of citation is the joint recruitment program undertaken by the Catholic high schools to increase enrollment of black students.

I renew my appeal for the pursuit of racial justice not just in terms of school desegregation, but in every aspect of social and economic life. This Holy Year calls us as Catholics to the ministry of reconciliation. In the history of our country, no group has suffered under such general and such cruel discrimination as our black citizens. The call to reconciliation, therefore, compels us to unite in eliminating the many forms of blatant discrimination against black people which still exist in housing, employment, and many areas of economic life.

In my Holy Year pastoral letter last December I called upon the parishes in the Archdiocese to inaugurate programs of prayer, study, and action in respect to the social teaching of the Church. To assist the parishes in carrying out this mandate, the Archdiocesan Commission on Peace and Justice will present during Lent a series of workshops for parish leaders in various parts of the Archdiocese. Major emphasis will be placed upon the Church's teaching on racial justice. I ask participation in the workshops and application of their results at the parish level.

The courts which must make the decision as to the precise means to be used to "eliminate from the public schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation" have a very difficult task. They are dealing with the accumulated evils of generations of discrimination and segregation in every area of community life.

History and common sense tell us there can be no easy and comfortable solutions to such deep-rooted problems. Our resolve at this point must be that when the final court decisions are handed down, we shall see to it that they are carried out in an orderly and peaceful fashion without disruption of community life or harm to the schools and their pupils.

I appeal to all members of the Archdiocese of Louisville and to our fellow citizens of every religious persuasion to make the cause of racial justice one of the highest priorities in the community life we share. In this effort let us join both in work and in prayer.

APPENDIX I

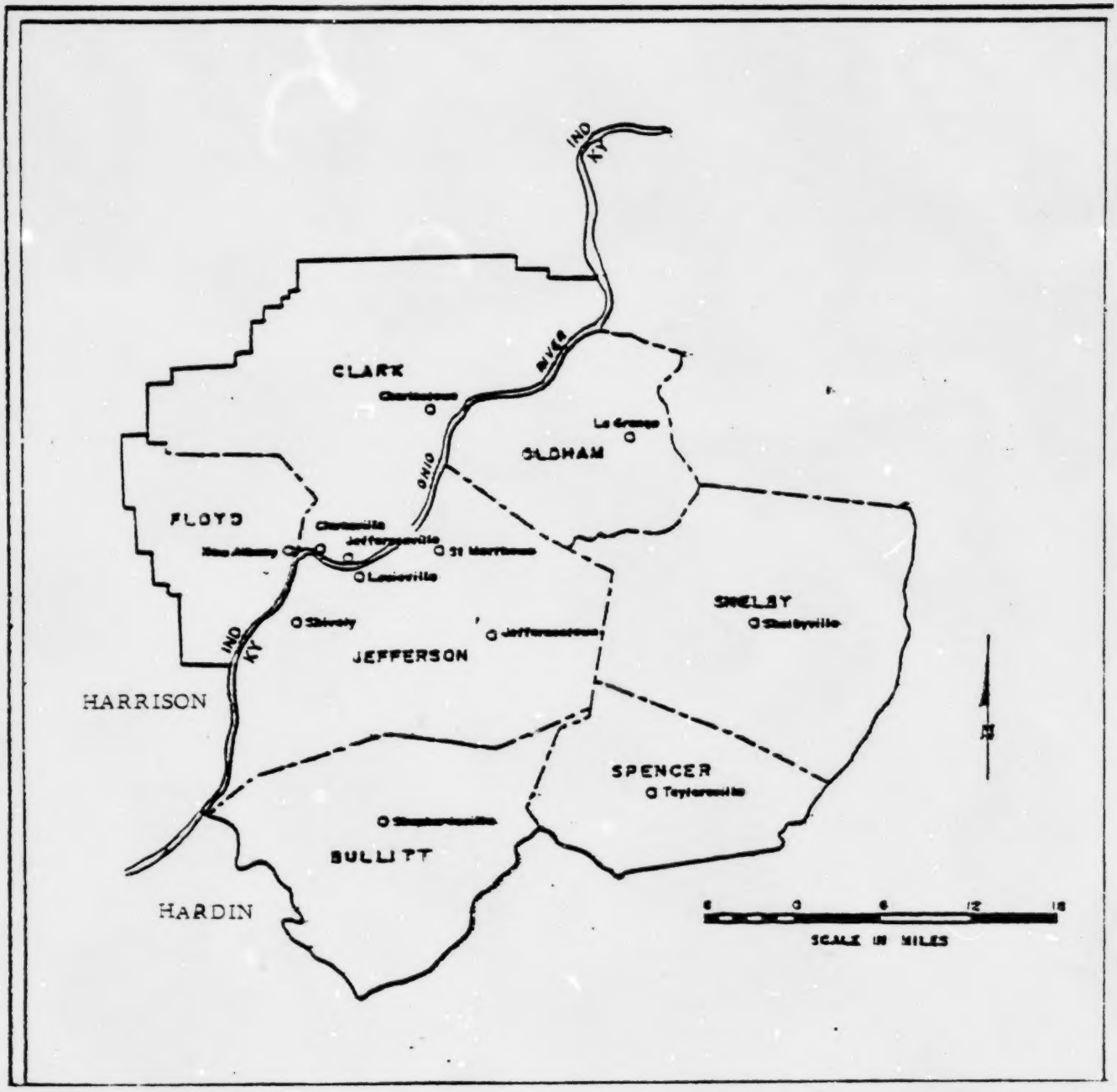
ENROLLMENT FOR GRADES 1-12,
CONTIGUOUS COUNTIES

MAP OF JEFFERSON COUNTY AND
EIGHT CONTIGUOUS COUNTIES

Enrollment at the End of the First Month Grades 1-12

Contiguous Counties

	KENTUCKY					INDIANA		
	Bullitt	Hardin	Oldham	Shelby	Spencer	Floyd	Clark	Harrison
1970	7,273	11,733	3,196	4,719	1,330	12,139	17,314	5,036
1971	7,772	11,970	3,179	4,789	1,330	12,181	17,672	5,218
1972	8,251	11,946	3,330	4,749	1,303	12,164	17,632	5,368
1973	8,642	11,920	3,379	4,668	1,313	12,175	17,626	5,428
1974	9,069	12,024	3,609	4,542	1,349	11,966	17,808	5,384
1975	9,725	12,068	4,009	4,586	1,336	11,698	17,958	5,371
1976	10,382	12,195	4,559	4,511	1,309	11,694	18,067	5,553
1977	10,845	12,480	5,048	4,647	1,293	11,791	17,998	5,533
1978	11,043	12,333	5,464	4,623	1,294	11,620	17,677	5,584



Map of Jefferson County and the Eight Continuous counties.

APPENDIX J

YEARS 2 AND 3 INTERVIEW RESULTS,
TRANSFER TO NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

		Students attending school in Spring of 1976 - not enrolled in Fall of 1976						Students requesting transfers during Summer and Fall of 1977									
		1A Catholic N=18		1B Private N=22		1C Total N=40		2A Catholic N=42		2B Mainstream Private N=23		2C Private (Church-Related) N=28		2D Total N=51		2E Private (Church-Related) Returned to Pub. 1978 N=10	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1. How long have you lived at your present address?	Less than 1 year?	2	10.0	0	0.0	2	4.0	2	4.8	0	0.0	1	3.6	3	3.2	0	0.0
	1-2 years?	2	10.0	1	3.3	3	6.0	12	28.6	1	4.3	3	10.7	16	17.2	0	0.0
	3-5 years?	5	25.0	6	20.0	11	22.0	11	26.2	4	17.4	1	3.6	16	17.2	0	0.0
	6-10 years?	4	20.0	9	30.0	13	26.0	6	14.3	9	39.1	9	32.1	24	25.8	3	30.0
	More than 10 years?	7	35.0	14	46.7	21	42.0	11	26.2	9	39.1	14	50.0	34	36.6	7	70.0
2. How many children do you have?	1	2	10.0	4	13.3	6	12.0	3	7.1	2	8.7	4	14.3	9	9.7	1	10.0
	2	6	30.0	8	26.7	14	28.0	11	26.2	8	34.8	14	50.0	33	35.5	4	40.0
	3	8	40.0	10	33.3	18	36.0	12	28.6	9	39.1	7	25.0	28	30.1	3	30.0
	4	2	10.0	5	16.7	7	14.0	11	26.2	4	17.4	3	10.7	18	19.4	2	20.0
	5	1	5.0	3	10.0	4	8.0	3	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.2	0	0.0
	6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1	0	0.0
	7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	8 or more	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	2.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1	0	0.0

		1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
3. How many of these children are school age, grades 1-12?	1	4	20.0	7	23.3	11	22.0	9	21.4	10	43.5	8	28.6	27	29.0	2	20.0
	2	10	50.0	16	53.3	26	52.0	18	42.9	6	26.1	16	57.1	40	43.0	5	50.0
	3	5	25.0	5	16.7	10	20.0	8	19.0	5	21.7	4	14.3	17	18.3	3	30.0
	4	1	5.0	2	6.7	3	6.0	6	14.3	2	8.7	0	0.0	8	8.6	0	0.0
	5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1	0	0.0
	6 +	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
4. Generally speaking, which do you favor?	Full racial integration	4	20.0	10	33.3	14	28.0	17	40.5	17	73.9	6	22.2	40	43.5	3	30.0
	Some integration	11	55.0	15	50.0	26	52.0	21	50.0	4	17.4	9	33.3	34	37.0	5	50.0
	Separation	2	10.0	4	13.3	6	12.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	5	18.5	6	6.5	1	10.0
	Not sure	3	15.0	1	3.3	4	8.0	3	7.1	2	8.7	7	25.9	12	13.0	1	10.0
5. In principle do you think that it is a good idea or a bad idea for children to go to schools that have about the same proportion of blacks and whites as generally exists in Louisville-Jefferson county?	Good idea	9	45.0	13	43.3	22	44.0	16	40.0	17	73.9	11	39.3	44	48.4	3	30.0
	Bad idea	3	15.0	7	23.3	10	20.0	9	22.5	2	8.7	9	32.1	20	22.0	4	40.0
	Not sure	6	30.0	10	33.3	16	32.0	15	37.5	4	17.4	8	28.6	27	29.7	3	30.0
	NR	2	10.0	0	0.0	2	4.0										

		1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
6. To what extent do you favor or oppose busing to achieve racial desegregation as it has been put into effect here in Louisville and Jefferson County?	Strongly favor	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	4.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.2	0	0.0
	Somewhat favor	1	5.0	1	3.3	2	4.0	3	7.3	3	13.0	0	0.0	6	6.5	0	0.0
	Somewhat oppose	9	45.0	6	20.0	15	30.0	12	29.3	4	17.4	6	21.4	22	23.9	3	30.0
	Strongly oppose	9	45.0	22	73.3	31	62.0	23	56.1	12	52.2	22	78.6	57	62.0	7	70.0
	Not sure	1	5.0	1	3.3	2	4.0	1	2.4	4	17.4	0	0.0	5	5.4	0	0.0
7. Are you opposed to busing in all cases--or could you forsee a situation in which some type of busing program might be acceptable for achieving racial desegregation in Louisville-Jefferson County schools?	Opposed in all cases	5	27.8	11	39.3	16	34.8	12	34.3	5	31.3	17	60.7	34	43.0	6	60.0
	Could forsee	13	72.2	16	57.1	29	63.0	20	57.1	10	62.5	10	35.7	40	50.6	4	40.0
	Not sure	0	0.0	1	3.6	1	2.2	3	8.6	1	6.3	1	3.6	5	6.3	0	0.0

		1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
8. How would you judge the present quality of education of the Louisville-Jefferson County Public School System?	Very satisfactory	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Satisfactory	2	10.0	4	13.3	6	12.0	9	21.4	1	4.3	5	17.9	15	16.1	2	20.0
	Unsatisfactory	8	40.0	9	30.0	17	34.0	23	54.8	12	52.2	11	39.3	46	49.5	6	60.0
	Very Unsatisfactory	7	35.0	16	53.3	23	46.0	10	23.8	10	43.5	11	39.3	31	33.3	2	20.0
	Don't know/ Not sure	3	15.0	1	3.3	4	8.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.6	1	1.1	0	0.0
9. Since busing to achieve racial desegregation was put into effect, in general, do you feel the quality of education received by white students in Louisville-Jefferson County has:	Improved	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Worsened	16	80.0	24	80.0	40	80.0	32	76.2	18	78.3	24	85.7	74	79.6	9	90.0
	Remained the same	1	5.0	3	10.0	4	8.0	5	11.9	2	8.7	2	7.1	9	9.7	1	10.0
	Don't know/ Not sure	3	15.0	3	10.0	6	12.0	5	11.9	3	13.0	2	7.1	10	10.8	0	0.0
10. How many of your children have been scheduled to be bused sometime during their school year?	0	3	15.0	7	23.3	10	20.0	13	32.5	1	4.3	3	10.7	17	18.7	0	0.0
	1	6	30.0	13	43.3	19	38.0	21	52.5	15	65.2	12	42.9	48	52.7	4	40.0
	2	8	40.0	8	26.7	16	32.0	3	7.5	5	21.7	11	39.3	19	20.9	5	50.0
	3	2	10.0	1	3.3	3	6.0	2	5.0	2	8.7	2	7.1	6	6.6	1	10.0
	4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1	0	0.0
	5 +	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	NR	1	5.0	1	3.3	2	4.0										

			1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
11.	Did any of your children attend private schools prior to the Fall of 1975?	Yes	8	40.0	8	26.7	16	32.0	20	47.6	4	17.4	4	14.3	28	30.1	1	10.0
		No	12	60.0	22	73.3	34	68.0	21	50.0	19	82.6	24	85.7	64	68.8	9	90.0
									1	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1	0	0.0
13.	What date did this child begin in his present school?	Before Fall '75	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	2.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	2	7.1	3	3.2	2	20.0
		'75-'76	4	20.0	3	10.0	7	14.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	10.7	3	3.2	3	30.0
	The following 2 questions refer to the school in which the child was enrolled in the previous year.	'76-'77	11	55.0	19	63.3	30	60.0	7	16 7	2	8.7	4	14.3	13	14.0	0	0.0
		Fall '77	4	20.0	8	26.7	12	24.0	29	69.0	19	82.6	12	42.9	60	64.5	0	0.0
		NR							5	11.9	2	8.7	7	25.0	14	15.1	5	50.0
13. b	Was this school desegregated?	Yes	3	75.0	4	44.4	7	53.8	28	90.3	21	91.3	5	20.8	54	69.2	0	0.0
		No	1	25.0	2	22.2	3	23.1	2	6.5	2	8.7	19	79.2	23	29.5	10	100.0
		Don't know	0	0.0	3	33.3	3	23.1										
		NA							1	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.3	0	0.0
13. c	What do you think was the percentage of black students in the school?	0-10%	2	50.0	2	22.2	4	30.8	11	39.3	9	40.9	20	74.1	40	51.9	10	100.0
		11-20%	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	7.7	5	17.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	6.5	0	0.0
		41-50%							2	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.6	0	0.0
		Don't know/ Not sure	1	25.0	2	22.2	3	23.1	10	35.7	13	59.1	7	25.9	30	39.0	0	0.0
		NR	0	0.0	5	55.6	5	38.5										

			1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
14. a	What do you think was the percentage of black students in the school in which your child was enrolled two years ago?	Yes	6	30.0	6	20.0	12	24.0	9	26.5	3	13.0	8	29.6	20	23.8	3	30.0
		No	3	15.0	4	13.3	7	14.0	5	14.7	5	21.7	2	7.4	12	14.3	0	0.0
		21-30%	2	10.0	3	10.0	5	10.0	1	2.9	1	4.3	5	18.5	7	8.3	3	30.0
		31-40%	0	0.0	2	6.7	2	4.0	0	0.0	2	8.7	2	7.4	4	4.8	0	0.0
		41-50%	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0	5	14.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	6.0	0	0.0
		Over 50%	1	5.0	2	6.7	3	6.0	1	2.9	0	0.0	2	7.4	3	3.6	0	0.0
		Don't know/ Not sure	8	40.0	12	40.0	20	40.0	13	38.2	12	52.2	8	29.6	33	39.3	4	40.0
15.	Prior to court-ordered desegregation, had you thought about enrolling this child in a non-public school?	Yes	10	50.0	17	56.7	27	54.0	27	67.5	13	56.5	8	28.6	48	52.7	0	0.0
		No	10	50.0	13	43.3	23	46.0	13	32.5	10	43.5	20	71.4	43	47.3	10	100.0
16.	How would you rate this child's educational performance in the public school?	Excellent	5	25.0	10	33.3	15	30.0	9	21.4	9	39.1	7	25.0	25	26.9	3	30.0
		Good	7	35.0	9	30.0	16	32.0	17	40.5	4	17.4	10	35.7	31	33.3	4	40.0
		Fair	3	15.0	6	20.0	9	18.0	11	26.2	6	26.1	6	21.4	23	24.7	2	20.0
		Poor	4	20.0	4	13.3	8	16.0	5	11.9	4	17.4	4	14.3	13	14.0	1	10.0
		Unsure	1	5.0	1	3.3	2	4.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.6	1	1.1	0	0.0

		1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
17. Has this child ever been bused for desegregation purposes?	Yes	2	10.0	2	6.7	4	8.0	5	11.9	3	13.0	4	14.3	12	12.9	2	20.0
	No	18	90.0	28	93.3	46	92.0	37	88.1	20	87.0	24	85.7	81	87.1	8	20.0
18. Would this child have been bused last year if he had remained in a public school?	Yes	5	25.0	12	40.0	17	34.0	13	33.3	4	17.4	17	60.7	34	37.8	6	60.0
	No	12	60.0	18	60.0	30	60.0	26	66.7	19	82.6	11	39.3	56	62.2	4	40.0
	NR	3	15.0	0	0.0	3	6.0										
19. What is the one most important reason why you decided to send this child to a non-public school?	Bus ride	2	10.0	5	16.7	7	14.0	2	4.9	0	0.0	9	32.1	11	12.0	6	60.0
	Desegregation	1	5.0	3	10.0	4	8.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	14.3	4	4.3	0	0.0
	Quality of education	5	25.0	12	40.0	17	34.0	28	68.3	22	95.7	8	28.6	58	63.0	3	30.0
	Self-interest	1	5.0	3	10.0	4	8.0	3	7.3	1	4.3	1	3.6	5	5.4	0	0.0
	Religion	7	35.0	4	13.3	11	22.0	8	19.5	0	0.0	3	10.7	11	12.0	0	0.0
	Education problems	4	20.0	2	6.7	6	12.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	10.7	3	3.3	1	10.0
	Other	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0										
20. Does he ride a bus to school now?	Yes	7	35.0	16	53.3	23	46.0	21	50.0	11	47.8	16	57.1	48	51.6	7	70.0
	No	13	65.0	14	46.7	27	54.0	21	50.0	12	52.2	12	42.9	45	48.4	3	30.0

		1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
21. If your child had remained in the public school system he/she would be attending classes with children of a different race. Was this situation a factor in your decision to enroll you child in a non-public school?	Yes	3	15.0	2	6.7	5	10.0	1	2.4	0	0.0	5	17.9	6	6.5	3	30.0
	No	17	85.0	26	86.7	43	86.0	41	97.6	23	100.0	23	82.1	87	93.5	7	70.0
	Unsure	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0										
	NR	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0										
22. How would you rate the education provided by the public schools as compared to that provided by the non-public school?	Better	13	65.0	24	80.0	37	74.0	33	78.6	16	72.7	14	50.0	63	68.5	1	10.0
	Somewhat better	4	20.0	4	13.3	8	16.0	5	11.9	1	4.5	5	17.9	11	12.0	4	40.0
	Same	1	5.0	2	6.7	3	6.0	4	9.5	1	4.5	5	17.9	10	10.9	4	40.0
Would you rate the non-public schools as being:	Somewhat worse							0	0.0	0	0.0	3	10.7	3	3.3	1	10.0
	Worse							0	0.0	4	18.2	1	3.6	5	5.4	0	0.0
	NR	2	10.0	0	0.0	2	4.0										

		1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
24. What is your occupation? (Male)	Unskilled	5	26.3	4	13.8	9	18.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	14.8	4	4.4	0	0.0
	Skilled	5	26.3	13	44.8	18	37.5	22	55.0	0	0.0	17	63.0	39	43.3	7	70.0
	Clerical							2	5.0	1	4.3	0	0.0	3	3.3	0	0.0
	Professional	8	42.1	11	37.9	19	39.6	14	35.0	21	91.3	4	14.8	39	43.3	1	10.0
	Unemployed, retired, housewife	0	0.0	1	3.4	1	2.1	1	2.5	1	4.3	0	0.0	2	2.2	0	0.0
	Other	1	5.3	0	0.0	1	2.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	7.4	2	2.2	2	20.0
	NR							1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1	0	0.0
24. (cont'd) What is occupation of your husband/ wife? (Female)	Unskilled	3	15.0	3	10.0	6	12.0	2	4.9	0	0.0	3	10.7	5	5.4	1	10.0
	Skilled	3	15.0	3	10.0	6	12.0	4	9.8	1	4.3	0	0.0	5	5.5	0	0.0
	Clerical	3	15.0	2	6.7	5	10.0	3	7.3	0	0.0	6	21.4	9	9.8	1	10.0
	Professional	3	15.0	3	10.0	6	12.0	6	14.6	6	26.1	4	14.3	16	17.4	2	20.0
	Unemployed, retired, housewife	6	30.0	18	60.0	24	48.0	26	63.4	15	65.2	13	46.4	54	58.7	6	60.0
	Other	2	10.0	1	3.3	3	6.0	0	0.0	1	4.3	2	7.1	3	3.3	0	0.0

		1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
23. What is the last grade you completed? (Male)	8th or less	1	5.3	2	6.9	3	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.6	1	1.1	0	0.0
	HS imcompl	1	5.3	6	20.7	7	14.6	3	7.3	0	0.0	3	10.7	6	6.5	1	10.0
	HS complete	5	26.3	5	17.2	10	20.8	13	31.7	0	0.0	19	67.9	32	34.8	8	80.0
	Trade, Tech or Business	0	0.0	1	3.4	1	2.1	1	2.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.1	0	0.0
	College, incomplete	8	42.1	6	20.7	14	29.2	11	26.8	3	13.0	1	3.6	15	16.3	0	0.0
	College, complete	3	15.8	3	10.3	6	12.5	6	14.6	11	47.8	3	10.7	20	21.7	1	10.0
	Some Grad.	1	5.3	6	20.7	7	14.6	7	17.1	9	39.1	1	3.6	17	18.5	0	0.0
23. (cont'd) And the last grade your husband/wife completed? (Female)	8th or less	0	0.0	2	6.7	2	4.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	7.1	2	2.2	1	10.0
	HS imcompl	3	15.0	8	26.7	11	22.0	4	9.8	0	0.0	3	10.7	7	7.6	2	20.0
	HS complete	9	45.0	9	30.0	18	36.0	15	36.6	1	4.3	15	53.6	31	33.7	4	40.0
	Trade, Tech or Business	1	5.0	1	3.3	2	4.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.6	1	1.1	0	0.0
	College, incomplete	5	25.0	4	13.3	9	18.0	11	26.8	11	47.8	4	14.3	26	28.3	0	0.0
	College, complete	1	5.0	4	13.3	5	10.0	7	17.1	8	34.8	2	7.1	17	18.5	2	20.0
	Some Grad.	1	5.0	2	6.7	3	6.0	4	9.8	3	13.0	1	3.6	8	8.7	1	10.0

		1A		1B		1C		2A		2B		2C		2D		2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
25. What is your family's religion?	Protestant	4	20.0	27	90.0	31	62.0	8	19.0	15	65.2	25	89.3	48	51.6	9	90.0
	Catholic	16	80.0	2	6.7	18	36.0	31	73.8	2	8.7	2	7.1	35	37.6	1	10.0
	Jewish							1	2.4	3	13.0	0	0.0	4	4.3	0	0.0
	Other	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0	2	4.8	1	4.3	0	0.0	3	3.2	0	0.0
	None							0	0.0	2	8.7	1	3.6	3	3.2	0	0.0
26. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total family income before taxes for 1976.	Under $7,000	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	2.0	1	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.3	0	0.0
	$7,000-9,999	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0	1	2.9	1	6.3	2	7.4	4	5.2	0	0.0
	$10,000-$14,999	2	10.0	6	20.0	8	16.0	12	35.3	0	0.0	3	11.1	15	19.5	0	0.0
	$15,000-$19,999	5	25.0	5	16.7	10	20.0	5	14.7	1	6.3	10	37.0	16	20.8	2	20.0
	$20,000-$24,999	5	25.0	6	20.0	11	22.0	5	14.7	1	6.3	8	29.6	14	18.2	5	50.0
	$25,000-$34,999	1	5.0	2	6.7	3	6.0	6	17.6	5	31.3	1	3.7	12	15.6	0	0.0
	$35,000-$50,000	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0	1	2.9	1	6.3	1	3.7	3	3.9	1	10.0
	$50,000 and above	0	0.0	2	6.7	2	4.0	3	8.8	7	43.8	2	7.4	12	15.6	2	20.0
	NR	6	30.0	7	23.3	13	26.0										

		'1A		'1B		'1C		2A		2B		'2C		'2D		'2E	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
27. Sex of respondent.	Male	2	10.0	2	6.7	4	8.0	4	9.5	3	13.0	6	23.1	13	14.3	1	11.1
	Female	18	90.0	28	93.3	46	92.0	38	90.5	20	87.0	20	76.9	78	85.7	8	88.9
28. Age of respondent.	25 - 30	3	15.0	2	6.7	5	10.0	3	7.1	0	0.0	4	14.3	7	7.5	2	20.0
	31 - 40	13	65.0	19	63.3	32	64.0	29	69.0	9	39.1	17	60.7	55	59.1	4	40.0
	41 - 50	1	5.0	6	20.0	7	14.0	4	9.5	13	56.5	4	14.3	21	22.6	3	30.0
	Over 50	2	10.0	3	10.0	5	10.0	6	14.3	1	4.3	3	10.7	10	10.8	1	10.0
	NR	1	5.0	0	0.0	1	2.0										